

REV. REG. EURV

Clavi Trabales ;

OR,

NAILES FASTNED *by some Great* MASTERS
of ASSEMBLYES.

Confirming

The KINGS SUPREMACY.

The SUBJECTS Duty.

Church Government by BISHOPS.



The Particulars of which are as followeth

- * I. *Two Speeches of the late* LORD PRIMATE USHERS.
The one of the Kings Supremacy,
The other of the Duty of Subjects to supply the Kings Necessities.
- * II. *His Judgment and Practice in Point of Loyalty, Episcopacy,*
Liturgy and Constitutions of the Church of England,
- * III. *Mr. HOOKERS Judgment of the Kings Power in matters*
of Religion, advancement of Bishops &c.
- * IV. *Bishop ANDREWS of Church-Government &c. both con-*
firmed and enlarged by the said PRIMATE.
- * V. *A Letter of D^r HADRIANUS SARAVIA of the like Subjects.*

Unto which is added a *Sermon* of REGAL PОВVER, and
the *Novelsy* of the DOCTRINE OF RESISTANCE, *by Nic. Bernard*

* Also a *Preface* by the Right Reverend Father in God, the

Lord Bishop of LINCOLNE.

Edw. Tho. Barlow & Coll: R. J. O'Con ex dono Editha.

Published by Nicholas Bernard, Doctor of Divinity, and Rector
of Whit-church in Shropshire.

Si totus orbis adversum me conseruerit, ut quidquam molier adversus Regem Maj. Pate. ego tamen Deum timeo, &
ordinatum ab eo Regem offendere tentare non audeo. Bern. Ep. 170. ad Ludovicum Regem. AN. 1130.

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at his Shop in St. Dunstons Church-yard in Fleetstreet. 1661.



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TO HIS
MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

Charles II.

King of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND;
FRANCE and IRELAND, Defender
of the Faith, &c.

May it please your MAJESTY.

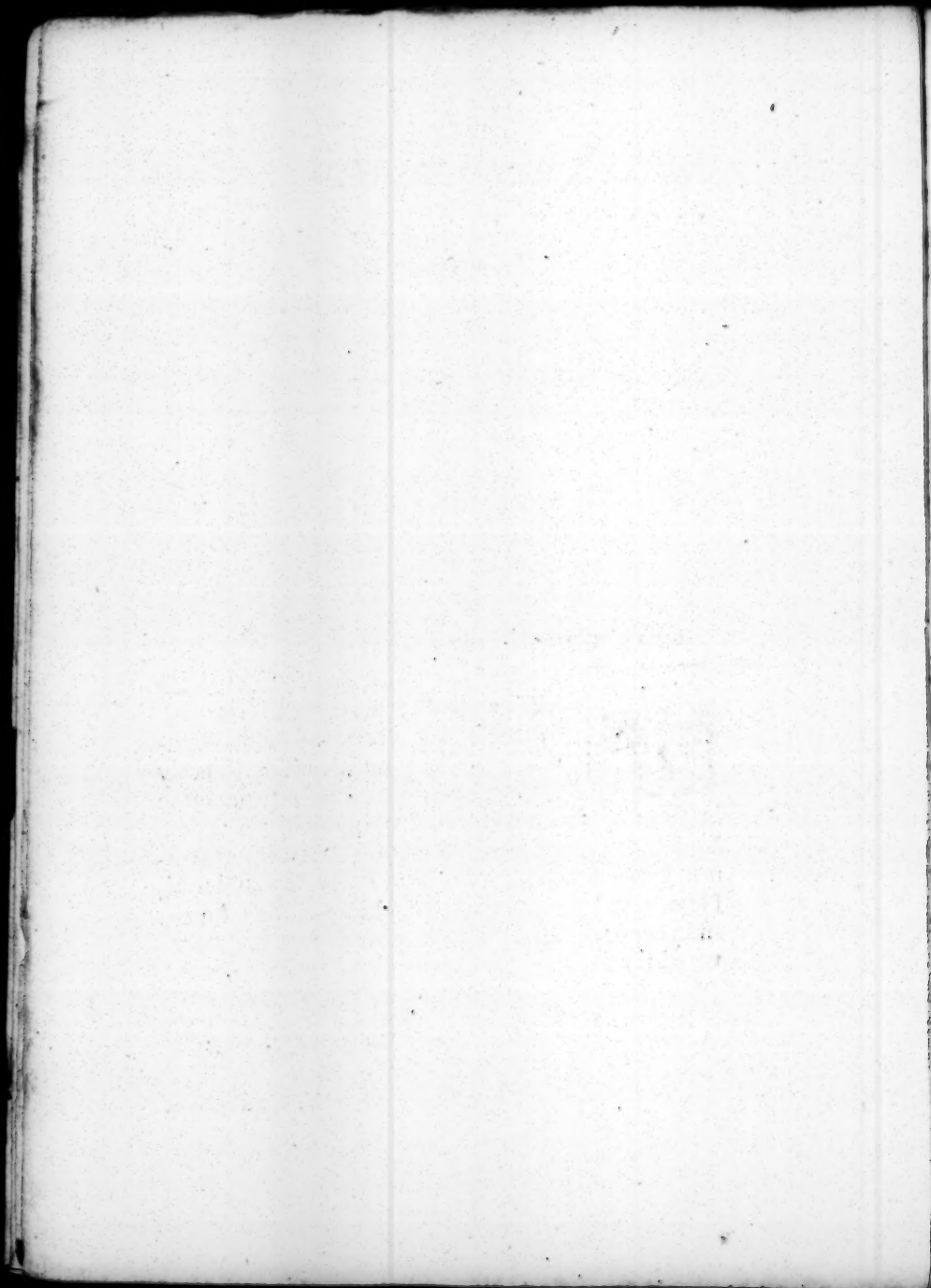


He little confidence I can assume to my self in presenting any thing to your *Majesties* gracious Acceptance, is notwithstanding, by your *Majesties* Princely Clemency, advanced to a Presumption in this present Dedication. The Subjects of which, being fully determined by several persons of most Eminent Learning and Piety, and now seasonably published, I hope may be conducive to the Peace of the Church, and your *Majesties* service, unto which none is more devoted then

Your MAJESTIES

Most humble and Loyal Subject

N. BERNARD.





T H E
P R E F A C E.

THese two learned Speeches of the late Lord Primate Usher have been by some prudent persons judged seasonable to be thus published together. The one, Of the *Kings Supremacy*, may not only be instructive to those of the Church of *Rome*, but to some of our own Communion, who have been and are too scanty in the acknowledgment of it. The other, Of the duty of Subjects to supply the *Kings necessities*, was occasioned by the slowness in *Ireland* of contributing to the King, for the maintenance of the Army, continued there for their own defence, the great imprudence of which parsimony,

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we felt, to our own loss not many years after; wherein that distinction in point of Loyalty, made between those descended of the antient *English* race (though differing from us in point of Religion) and those of the *meer Irish* (which is there much enlarged) may be now worthy of observation. The whole Speech is full of Loyalty, Prudence and Learning, for which, as he had his late *Majesties* (of Blessed Memory) gracious *thanks*, so he had as little from others, who were then as backward in assenting to the like Propositions here, conceiving he had pressed their *duty* too high in that point.

Both these Speeches thus tending to the defence of *Regal Power*, and the *duty of Subjects*, hath (in submission to the judgments of those whom I much reverence) occasioned the putting forth a *Sermon* of mine upon the like Subject, which I have the rather adventured so near this eminent *Primate*, as having had his approbation occasioned by the censure of some at *Dublin*, anno 1642. when it was first delivered; of which

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which more is said in an Advertisement before it.

Hereupon I have been further induced unto a ~~vindication of~~ the said most eminent Prelate not only of His Judgment in this Subject, but in point of *Episcopacy*, *Liturgy*, and *Constitutions* of the Church of *England*, from the various misapprehensions of such, who being of different opinions, the great respect given him by the *one*, hath been a scandal to the *other*.: But by this impartial relation of his Judgment and Practice in each, it may be hoped that *both* sorts will be so fully satisfied as to unite in the exemplary observance of that *Piety*, *Loyalty*, *Conformity*, and *Humility* found in him.

And whereas some do much appeal to that *Accommodation* of his in relation to *Episcopacy* (wherein he was not single) proposed *Anno 1640*. (which then they did not hearken unto) they are herein remembered what was that which caused it, even the pressing *violence* of those times, threatening the destruction of the *whole*, with the sole end of it, a *pacification*, whose readiness
in

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in yielding up so much of his own Interest then, for the tranquility of the Church (like *Jonas* willing to be cast overboard for the stilling of the Tempest) would be worthy of all our *Imitations* now. The appeal here is from that *Storm*, unto what his *practice* was in *calme* and peaceable times, which if followed, would give a check to most of those disputes which have of late taken up so much time amongst us.

The *Fruite* expected to be reaped from this declaration (besides the satisfaction of mine own mind, which was not at rest without it) is the due *honor* of him, for whose I am obliged to sacrifice mine own. That as he is admired abroad, so he may not want that love and general esteem he hath deserved at *home*. And as the *peace* and *unity* of the Church was studied by him in his *lifetime*, so there might not be the least breach continued by a misapprehension of him after his *death*. And surely if such of us who think him worthy of being our *copy*, would but now upon the sight of this,
writ

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writ after him the *Arke* of our Church would cease to be tossed too and fro in this *floating* uncertain condition, and immediately rest upon firm ground.

Heretofore, having an occasion to vindicate this most Learned Primate in point of *Doctrine* (so unhappy often are persons of his eminency, as after their deaths to be challenged Patrons to contrary partyes) I had *An. 1658.* a Letter of Thanks from the late Reverend Bishop of *Durham* (Bishop *Morton*) in these wordes, *viz.* I acknowledge hereby my obligation of *Thankfulness* to you, not not only for the book it self, but especially for your pains, in vindicating that admirable Saint of God, and Starr, *primæ magnitudinis*, in the Church of God, the Primate of *Armagh*, &c. In which high esteem of the Primate, the now Reverend Bish. of *Durham* succeeds him, who hath often signified it, in divers of his Letters which I received from *Paris* to that purpose.

Hereunto two other *Treatises* have been thought fit to be added (mentioned in the foresaid vindication (but then not intended.

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ed to be published) which the Eminent Primate had a hand in. The one, Mr. Hookers *Judgment of Regal Power, in Matters of Religion, the advancement of Bishops, and the Kings Exemption from censure &c.* Left out of the common copyes *enlarged and confirmed* by the Primate, all the marginal notes of the quotations out of the *Fathers*, being under his own hand, are noted with this mark *

The other a Treatise of the *Form of Church Government before and after Christ, &c.* The main aime of it is to shew, that the Government of the Christian Church established by the Apostles under the *New Testament* was according to the pattern of that in the *Old*, then which scarce any book in so little, speaks so much, for the pre-eminency of Episcopacy. It first appeared Anno 1641. under the Title of the *rude draughts of Bishop Andrews*, (which though I was in doubt of, by the contrary opinion of an eminent person, (heretofore near unto him) yet I am confirmed in it by what I find written by that Learned Bishop
in

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in answer to Peter de Moulin, wherein is found not only the substance, but the very words that are used both within this Treatise, and the *Emendations*. vid. resp. ad 3. epist. p. 193. 194. *Vis arcessam adhuc alius, vel è veteri Testamento, atque ipsâ adeò lege divinâ ? Facit Hieronymus, & ut sciamus traditiones Apostolicas sumptas ex veteri Testamento, quod Aaron, & filii ejus, atque Levitæ in Templo fuerunt, hoc sibi Episcopi, Presbyteri, atque Diaconi vendicant in Ecclesiâ. Facit Ambrosius, utrobique, in 1. Co. 12. & 4. ad Ephes, de Judeis loquens ; Quorum, inquit, traditio ad nos transactum fecit, Aaronem mitto ne quasi Christi typum rejicias. Filiis ejus sacerdotibus nonne in singulis familiis sacerdos id est Prælatas, sive ut alii dicuntur i. e. Episcopus ? Gersonitis, Num. 3. 24. Kaathitis v. 30. Meraritis, v. 30 ? Nonne vivente adhuc patre suo, Eleazar ibi נֹסִיף נִסְיָאן quasi dicas Prælatas Prælatorum v. 32. נֹסִיף נִסְיָאן quasi dicas Archiepiscopus, sunt ergo in lege נֹסִיף, כֹהֵנִים, לֵוִיִּים. In Evangelio Apostoli, septuaginta duo, septem illi, Act. 6. In Apostolorum praxi de duobus illis sumpta, Episcopi, Presbyteri, Diaconi.*

Again it hath been assured me by a Reverend

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rend Bishop, that the abovesaid *Rude Draught* was wrote by the hand of *Bishop Andrews* own *Secretary*, and that the said *Bishop* did deliver it himself to the *Primate*, Anno 1640. who, though it came in that imperfect condition, yet finding so many excellent observations wrought out with very great industry, he judged it forthwith, as it was, worthy of the *Press*: But afterwards upon a further review, he added his strength to the perfecting of it, which I found amongst his papers done throughout with his own hand, and with it a *Manuscript* of the same, corrected accordingly by him. And in the conclusion of that, a very learned hand had contributed to it also, signifying by marks refering to several Pages, what he would have added, altered, or further enquired into, Now whether the Author of that be *Bishop Andrews*, or some other learned person, I shall not determine, only seeing it was his custom in what he published (as I am assured) first to write a rough draught, then after some distance of time to take a review, and a third before it passed

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passed his hand, this might be the *second*, and the *third* supplied by the *Lord Primate*, wherein the last desire of the Author hath been satisfied, he not only inquiring into, but clearing those difficulties in *Chorography* and *Chronology*, which I have in their due places inserted, with the learned additions before mentioned. So that whether the whole be the labour of those two eminent *Prelats* (the one laying the *Foundation*, the other *building* upon it) or be a *three fold cord*, it is here faithfully presented without any diminution or addition, even where there seemed to be some small imperfection which in a few places do occurre, all which some years ago *Doctor Brounrigg* the late *Bishop of Exeter*, upon the view of gave me his judgment for the publishing of them.

I have only this to add, That for every particular passage in the whole, I have no warrant to intitle the *Primates* judgment to it. Only it is apparent by his great pains in the double correction, and supply made by himself in some Specialties, he had a ve-

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ry great vauew of it. The *Primates Annotations* are noted with this marke *. And the *supposed Authors* additions and changes are noted with this mark [] though in some omitted.

Lastly, finding among the said *Primates* papers a Letter of D. HADRIANUS de SARAVIA to the Ministers of the Isle of *Garnsey*, (which I cannot hear was ever published.) I have thought fit to add also, the Subject being so near a kin to the former, concerning both the *KINGS POWER*, *EPISCOPACY*, and the *CONSTITUTIONS* of the Church of *England*, whose advice to them many years ago, may be of good use to others now.

I have no more, but to wish that the Judgment of these eminent Authors may be so prevalent with others, much inferior to them, that they may be moved accordingly to *study quietness*, and *seek those ways of peace*, which of latter years we have not known.

The



The Bishop of Lincoln's Preface to the Reader.

Courteous Reader,



*He Four Authors of these scattered
(and some of them imperfect) pieces,
by the care and diligence of the learn-
ed Publisher gathered up, preser-
ved from perishing, and presented to the World
here altogether in one view, were all of them
men famous in their times, and of so high esteem,
that common opinion had set them up (which
is not alwaies the Lot of Worth and Vertue) a-
bove the reach of Calumny and Envy, even
whilst they were yet living, much reverence eve-
ry where paid, not to their Persons only, but to
their very Names : Their writings carried Au-
thority with them, as well as Weight ; and the
evidence of Truth (which hath a marvelous
strength to cast down every imagination
that exalteth it self there against) shining forth
in*

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in their Works, subdued all men (that had not to serve Interests laid aside their Reason) to their Judgments, insomuch as the Adverse Party finding themselves not so well able to stand upon their own bottom, nor likely to hold up the reputation they had gained among the vulgar without a juggle, have been sometimes put to the pitifull shift of setting forth Suppositious Pamphlets in favour of their cause, under the counterfeited names of other men of known Piety and Parts, whose former writings having been entertained with general approbation abroad in the world, their very names (they thought) would give some countenance to any cause which they could seem in any degree to own. So sometimes poor mens Bastards are fathered upon those that never begat them; only because it is known they are well able to maintain them.

This is one of their Pix fraudes or Godly Cheats, a practice common to them with the Jesuites, as many other of their practises (ey and of their Doctrines too) are. Such an unhappy fatal coincidence, not seldom there is of Extreams. Thus dealt they with the Reverend Primate of Armagh, printing in his name, and that

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in his life time too, (such was their modesty and tenderness of Conscience) two severall Pamphlets, the one called Vox Hiberniæ, and the other, A Direction to the Parliament, &c. See pag. 151. And sure, if they had the forehead to make thus bold with him, when he was alive, able to complain of the injury done him, and to protest against it: We cannot doubt but that if need were, they would make at least as bold with him and his name after he was dead, when they might doe it with greater security and less fear of controll. See pag. 60. They that betake themselves to these unworthy arts, though they may please themselves for a while with an imagination, that by this means the people will fall to them apace, and thereout they shall suck no smal advantage to their Cause and Party; yet as it mostly cometh to pass, such their rejoycing is but short: For the imposture once discovered (nor is it often long before that be done; for a lying tongue is but for a moment) the Imposters are forced to lye down in sorrow, and that (if they could be found out) with shame enough. For, such discovery once made, wisemen fall off faster from them,

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them, then ever fools came on; concluding the Cause to be desperately crazy, that must be beholding to such weak props as these to shore it up, and support it.

How they that are guilty of such foul play will be able to make answer for their insincerity before the tribunal of the great Judge at that his day (if yet they that do such things can really believe there is any such thing as a day of Judgment to come) I leave to their own Judgments in this their day to consider. As for us qui leges colimus severiores, as we profess our utter abhorrency of all forgery and other like unworthy & unchristian attempts in any person of whatsoever perswasion he be, or for whatsoever end it be done, so we hold our selves religiously obliged to use all faithfulness and sincerity in the publishing of other mens works; by suffering every Author to speak his own sense in his own words, nor taking the boldness to change a phrase or syllable therein, at least not without giving the Reader, both notice where, and some good account also why we have so done. Such faithfulness and ingenuity the learned publisher of these Treatises professeth himself to have used,
in

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in setting them forth, neither better nor worse, but just as he found them in the Reverend Primate's Paper, some perfect, and some imperfect, according as they were, and still are in the Copies which are in his custody, and which he is ready upon all occasions to shew, if need shall require.

The Primates two Speeches, and Dr. Saravia's Letter, are set forth perfect, according as they are in the Original Copies to be seen. The Treatise of the Form of Church-Government heretofore published, and (very probably) supposed to have been some Collections of the most Learned and Reverend Bishop Andrews, but whereunto the Author had not put to his last hand, is a piece though little in bulk, yet of huge industry, and such as neither could the materials thereof have been gathered without very frequent reading, and attent observing of the sacred Text, nor being gathered could they have been easily contrived or digested into any handsome Form so compendiously without the help of a methodical and mature judgment; which doubtless had the Author polished and finished according to his own mind, abilities, and exactness in other things, would have given very

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much satisfaction to the impartial Reader, and done good service to the Church of God. Yet rather then a Tract of so much usefulness should not be publickly known to the World, the Publisher in order to the publick good, thought fit (notwithstanding whatsoever defects it may have for want of the Authors last hand thereunto) to joyn it with the rest in this Edition, especially the Learned Primate having had it under his File, as by the Notes and other Additions written with the Primates own hand (which I have seen and can testifie) doth plainly appear. The same also is to be said of the three pieces of the renowned Hooker, and of what is written with the same hand in the Margent of the Manuscript Copie, whereof some account is given, pag. 47.

Great pity it is, if it could be holpen, that any thing which fell from the Pen of any of these Four Worthies should be lost. But where the entire Work cannot be retrived; it is pity but (as in a Shipwrack at Sea, or Scath-fire by land) so much of it should be saved as can be saved, be it more or lesse. Those men have been always thought to have deserved well of the Comonwealth.

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Commonwealth of Learning, *that have bestowed their pains in collecting out of the Scholiasts, Grammarians, Lexicons, and other ancient Authors, the Fragments of Ennius, Lucilius, Cicero, the Dramatike Poets, and of other learned, though but Heathen Writers, whether Greek or Latine. How much more then ought the very imperfect Fragments and Reliques (so they be genuine) of such excellent persons, that tend so much to the advancement, not of the knowledge only, but of the Power also of Christianity, and of Godliness as well as Truth, be acceptable to all those that are true Lovers of either? Of Gold quævis bracteola, the very smalest filings are precious, and our Blessed Saviour, when there was no want of provision, yet gave it in charge to his Disciples, the off-fall should not be lost. The more commendable therefore is, and the more acceptable to the men of this Generation should be, the care of the Reverend Preserver and Publisher of these small but precious Reliques of so many eminent persons, men of exquisite learning, sober understandings, and of exemplary piety and gravity, all concurring in the same judgment,*

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as concerning those points (Factious Spirits in these latter times so much opposed) of Regal Sovereignty, Episcopal Government, and Obedience in Ceremonialls.

What the Reverend Doctor hath added of his own, as touching the Learned Primates Judgment in the Premises, and confirmed the same by instancing in sundry particulars under those three Generall Heads; and that, from his own personal knowledge, and long experience (having for divers years lived under or near him) is in the general very well known to my self and many others, who have sundry times heard him, as occasion was given, deliver his opinion clearly in every of the aforesaid points, which were then grown to be the whole Subject (in a manner) of the common discourse of the times. But one particular I shall mention, which above the rest I perfectly remember, as taking more special notice of it when it was spoken then of the rest, because I had never heard it observed by any before, and having myself oftentimes since spoken of it to others upon several occasions; which for that it hath given satisfaction to some, I think it my duty to make it known to as many others as I can,

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can, by acquainting the Reader with it, and it concerneth the Ceremony of the Cross after Baptisme, as it is enjoyned by Law, and practised in the Church of England.

The use of this Ceremony had been so fully declared, and (as to the point of Superstition where with some had charged it) so abundantly vindicated, both in the Canons of the Church, and other writings of Learned men, that before the beginning of the Long Parliament, and the unhappy Divisions that followed thereupon, there were very few in the whole Nation (scarce here and there one) either of the Ministers that made scruple to use it, or of the People that took offence at it. But after that some leading men of the House of Commons in that Parliament, for the better driving on the design they had upon the King, had let all loose in the Church, whilst some few stood fast to their honest Principles (and were most of them undone by it) the greatest part of the Clergy (to their shame be it spoken) many for fear of loosing their own, more in hope to get other mens livings; and some possibly out of their simplicity beguiled with the specious name of Reformation, in a
short

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short space became either such perfect Time-Servers as to cry down, or such tame Complyers with the Stronger Side, as to lay down ere they needed, the use of the whole Liturgy, and of all the Rites and Ceremonies therein prescribed. But among them all, none in the whole bunch so bitterly inveighed against, nor with such severity anathematized, as this of the Cross, as smelling ranker of Popery & Superstition than any of the rest, as it is even at this day by the Managers of the Presbyterian Interest represented as of all other, the greatest Stone of offence to tender Consciences, and the removal of it more insisted upon, than of all the other Ceremonies, by such men, as having engaged to plead in the behalf of other mens tender Consciences, do wisely consider withall, that it will not be so much for their own Credit, now to become Time-Servers with the Laws, as it was some years past for their profit to become Time-Servers against the Laws.

These out-cries against a poor Ceremony, to us (who were not able to discern in it any thing of harme or Superstition, worthy of so much noise) afforded sometimes, when two or three of

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as chanced to meet together, matter of discourse. It hapned upon a time, that falling occasionally upon this Theme, the Learned Primate among other things said to us that were then casually present with him, that in his opinion the Sign of the Cross after Baptisme, as it is appointed in the Service-Book, and taken together with the words used therewithall, was so far from being a Relike of Popery, that he verily believ'd the same to have been retained in the Church of England at the Reformation, of purpose to shew that the custom used in the Church of Rome, of giving the Chrisme to Infants immediately after their Baptisme, was in their Judgments neither necessary to be continued in all Churches, nor expedient to be observed in ours. Which his opinion, as it is most certainly true in the former, so to me it seemeth very probable in the latter branch thereof.

For first, how can that be with any truth affirmed, or but with the least colour of reason suspected to be a Popish Custom, or a Rag or Relike of Rome, that hath been for above a hundred years used (and that use by Law established) in the Protestant Church of England, but is

not

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not at all used, nor (for ought I can learn) ever was used by the Papists in their Churches, nor is it by any Order or Authority of the Church of Rome enjoyned to be used in any Church in the world that professeth subjection thereunto. True it is, that in the Office of Baptisme, according to the Romane Ritual, the signe of the Crois is very often used, from first to last, at least twenty times (viz. in the Benediction of the Salt, in the Exorcismes, in the formal words of Administration, and otherwise) yet as luck would have it, that signe is not made, nor by the Ritual appointed to be made upon the Childs Forehead, as with us is used : Nor are those very words therewithal used, nor other words to the like purpose by the said Ritual appointed to be so used (shewing what the intent, meaning and signification of that Sign is) as in our Service Book is done. And true it is also (for I wil not, as I think I ought not dissemble any thing that I can imagine might be advantageously objected by an Adversary) that according to the Romane Order the Minister as soon as he hath finished the Baptisme (Ego baptizo te &c.) is in the next place to annoint the Infant cross-wise,

with

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With a certain Prayer (or Benediction rather)
to be said at the same time, as by the Ritual
printed at Antwerp, An. Dom. MDCLII. pag. 23. *de hoc in sum*
23. may appear. But so far distant is that Rite *Ritual pag. 17.*
of theirs from this of ours in many respects, as *26 in Rubrica*
may also by comparing their Ritual with our Ser- *de hoc de hoc occur*
vice Book appear; that ours cannot with any *ment... postea sig*
congruity be thought to have been drawn by *rum crucis faciat*
that patterne, or to have been borrowed or ta- *in fronte et pec*
ken from their practice. For first, *toris pntant. ita*
sequitur... Accipit

1. Theirs is actus immanens, a material an- *signa crucis sum*
nointing and so leaveth a real effect behind it, the *in fronte quā in*
visible Form or Figure of a Cross, to be seen up- *conditum & for*
on the Childs head, after the act is done. But *dem celestialium*
ours is a meer transient act, an immaterial *practitor. de*
sign of a Cross made in the aire, without any
sensible either impression or exprefion remain-
ing when the act is over.

2. Theirs is done upon the Top or Crown
of the head (in summitate capitis. Ritual p.
23.) which is elsewhere exprefsed by Vertex (see
pag. 49. & 51. & 56.) which sure must needs
have some other signification, if it have any,
then ours hath. Which is done upon the Childs
Forehead, the proper seat (by the common
d judg-

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judgment of the world, and according to the grounds of Physiognomy) of shamefastness and boldness, and so holdeth a perfect analogy with that which the Church intended to signify by it in token that he shall not be ashamed &c.

3. Their Crosse belongeth precisely to the anointing with the Chrisme, whereunto it relateth, and hath such a dependance thereupon, that supposing there were no such Chrisme used in the Church of Rome, there would be no place left for the Crosse in all that part of the Office that followeth after the formal words of Baptisme, as from the frame and order of their Ritual is most evident. It cannot therefore be the same with the Crosse used in our Church, where the Chrisme is not at all used, but thought fit rather at the Reformation to be (I dare not say condemned as unlawful and superstitious, but) laid aside, as at least unnecessary and useless, as many other Ceremonies (still retained in the Church of Rome) were, because, though some of them were guiltless, yet they were grown so burdensome by reason of their multitude, that it was fit the number of them should be abated.

And

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And yet secondly there might be, and (in the Primates judgment) probably there was a more peculiar Reason why after Baptisme our Church did substitute the signe of the Cross with the words thereto appertaining, in stead of the Chrisme and the Cross attending it, used in the Church of Rome. The Ceremony of giving the chrisme to Infants in all likelihood came into the church about the same time, when (through the misunderstanding of a passage in John 6. 53.) the opinion of the necessity of administring the Lords Supper to Infants had obtained in the christian church. And that (as it seemeth) to supply in some sort the want of confirmation wherein the like Ceremony of anointing with the chrisme was used) of which young children were not capable, and which yet was in all reason to precede the receiving of the Lords Supper. That opinion in time vanished as an Error, and with it the practise of communicating Infants ceased. But still the custom of giving them the chrisme continued, as a kind of initial confirmation (if I may so call it) as if by it were conferred some degree of that grace, which in their account) is the proper effect of the Sacrament

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orament of confirmation, to wit, the grace of Spiritual Strength, to fight against the Spiritual Enemy of the Soul, the flesh, the world and the Devil. Now to prevent the imagination of any such efficacious vertue in the chrisme, and to shew that by Baptisme alone (which is sacramentum militare) without the addition of the chrisme. the person baptized receiveth all that benefite of grace and strength, whatsoever it be, which he should do, if the chrisme were joyned with it (for by Baptisme he is not only receiv'd into the church as a Member of Christ, but matriculated also into the Militia as a Soldier of Christ) it might very well be thought convenient, laying aside the anointing with the chrisme (per modum crucis) cross-wise, that the Minister as soon as he hath baptized the child, should in expresse words signifie to the Congregation, that he is now become the Soldier of Jesus Christ, as well as a Member of his Church, with the sign of the cross also used therewithall as a significant ceremony in token that the person so baptized being now the Soldier of Christ, should not be ashamed of his profession, nor behave himself cowardly therein.

This

Preface to the Reader.

This is the substance of what the Learned Primate declared to us to be his Judgment concerning the use of this Ceremony, and the place it hath in our Liturgy. In the setting down whereof, if for the Readers fuller satisfaction I have allowed myself a good liberty of enlargement, either for the farther confirming, or the better clearing of his opinion: I hope none will therefore charge me to have misrepresented it, having gone all along upon his grounds, and perfectly to his sense. This Story, of what discourse we had with the Primate at that time (as I had to others heretofore, so) I told very lately to the Reverend Doctor, the Publisher of these Treatises, who told me back again, that himself had also heard him declare his opinion to the same effect as aforesaid, and remembreth particulars (which I here publish, having the Doctors Warrant so to do) that he so declared it in a publick Speech (mentioned pag. 63.) before a great Auditory at Drogheda in Ireland, when he first confirmed children there.

The Bishop of Lincolns

I am unwilling, having gone thus far already to weary the Reader or my Self with proceeding any farther, nor indeed is it needful I should. For (since only by pride commeth contention, Prov. 13. 10. if all men that pretend to be wise and honest would be humble (and truly he that is not so, is neither honest nor wise) and make that their business which is certainly their Duty : That is to say, if they would study quietness more, and Parties less, bear a just reverence to Antiquity and to their betters, allow as favorable a construction to things established as they are capable of, suspect their own judgment, wherein it differeth from the publick, submit to reason, and yield when they are convinced, obey cheerfully where they may, and where they dare not, suffer without noise, a little saying and writing would serve the turn. But when men are once grown to this, to make it their Glory to head or hold up a Parry ; To study wayes how to evade when they are called to obey ; To resolve to erre, because they have erred, and to hold their conclusion in despite of all Premises ; To preferre their

Preface to the Reader.

their private opinions before wiser mens judgments, and their reputation with the vulgar before Obedience to Superiors ; In a word, to suffer themselves to be swayed with Passions, Parties, or Interests ; all the writing and saying in the World, as to such men (as will it shall please God to put their hearts into another Frame) is to no more purpose, then if a man should go about to fill a Seive with Water, or to wash a Blackamore white.

When we have tried all the ways and conclusions we can, we shall in the end find the best expedient for Peace, and the best Service we can do the Church, our Selves, and our Brethren, to be our constant and instant Prayers to Almighty God (with our subser-vient Endeavors) that he would give to every one of us, a discerning judgment to see the Truth, and a willing mind to embrace it, conscience to do what we ought, and Patience to suffer what we must, Humility to acknowledge our own, and Charity to bear with other mens infirmi-

The Bishop of *Lincoln's*
ties, that so we may keep the unity of the Spi-
rit in the bond of peace, and fulfil the Law
of Christ, which is the unfeigned hearty Wish
of

The unworthy Servant

London Aug. 10.
MDCLXI.

of JESUS CHRIST

Ro. Lincoln.

The

The Contents of each Treatise.

I. Of the Oath of Supremacy.

THe distinct Power of the Sword and Keys.
That the Sword is not restrained to Temporal Causes only.
That there is a Civil Government in Causes Spiritual, and a Spiritual Government in Causes Civil.
The Right Sense of the Oath.
Four Arguments against the Bishop of Remes Title, to an universal Supremacy.
King James His gracious Thanks to the Primate for it.

II. Of the Duty of Subjects to supply the Kings Necessities.

The Pretensions of Spain to the Kingdom of Ireland.
The Distinction in point of Loyalty between those of the ancient English Race, and the meer Irish.
The hatred shewn by the latter to the former in the Colledges abroad.
The moderating and answering Objections on both sides, for and against the Contribution propounded.
Divers Records produced as presidents for it
His Judgment, as a Divine, in the Case, not to be an Arbitrary Act, but a matter of Duty and Conscience.
That the denying of the King what is necessary for the support of his Kingdom, is no less a Robbery of him: then a Substrating of Tithes and Oblations is called a Robbery of God by the Prophet.

III. Of

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III. Of the late Lord Primate *Ushers* Judgment and Practice.

1. In point of Loyalty.

The Occasion of his writing of that book of the Power of the Prince, &c.

His joy or sorrow, according to the success of his Majesties affairs.

His compassionate affection to such as had suffered for his Majesty.

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His writing for it. Exercise of the Jurisdiction of it.

The occasion and end of these Proposals concerning it, An. 1641.

His censure upon the Omission of the form of words used by the Bishop in the Ordination of the Church of England.

His sufferings for it.

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His confirmation of Books tending to the Preheminency of Episcopacy.

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At Drogheda the Service sung upon Sundays before him, as in Cathedrals of England.

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The falsehood of some Pamphlets since his death.

Some specialties observed in him as to decency and Reverence in the Church at publick prayer, &c.

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His subscription to the 3. Articles in the 36. cap. of the book of the Canons of England.

The severity, put in with his own hand, in the first Canon of Ireland against such as should refuse to subscribe to the Articles of England, Observation of the annual Festivals, Good-Friday, &c.

Can-

The Contents.

*Confirmation of Children, Church Catechisme.
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IV. Mr. Hookers Judgment confirmed by the Primate.

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2. *Of his Power in advancement of Bishops to their Rooms of Prelacy.*
3. *The King exempt from Censure and other Judicial power.*

V. Bishop Andrews Judgment, (as it is conceived) of Church Government before and after Christ, &c. confirmed and enlarged by the Primate.

In the Old Testament.

1. *Before the Law.*
 2. *Under Moses.*
 3. *Among the Priests.*
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 5. *Under David (where is much added by the Primate.)*
 6. *Under Nehemiah.*
- A Recapitulation of the whole, &c. with some new enlargements by the supposed Author, answering the objections made against having the like government now, and giving reasons why it may be now.*

In the New Testament.

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 2. *In the dayes of the Apostles and after.*
- Of Deacons, Evangelists, Priests and Bishops.
Of the persons executing those Offices.
Of the promiscuous use of their names.
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The choice of persons to their Callings.*

The Contents.

VI. *A Letter of Dr. Hadrianus de Saravia to the Island of Garzay.*

Of the first Reformation in the Island.

Subjection to Episcopal Jurisdiction.

Difference in the Case, between them and France and the Low-Countries.

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The Kings Power in making of a Law.

Of Ordination otherwise then by Bishops.

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D. Hadr. Saravia with other learned mens Subscriptions to the Articles, and Liturgy of the Church of England.

A Pamphlet printed under the name of the late Archbishop of Armagh concerning the Liturgy and Church Government, declared to be none of his. As he hath been also injured and is still by another Book intituled, a Method of Meditation, or a Manual of Divine Duties, which though by his own direction in his life time 1651. I did in his name declare, to be none of his, but falsely put upon him, and have done so twice since his death, yet is still reprinted, and sold up and down as his, to the great injury of him.

The late Lord Primate Ushers Judgment of the signe of the Cross in Baptisme, confirmed by the Bishop of Lincoln in his Preface.

VII. The Contents of the Sermon.

Regal Power of Gods Ordination

That of 1 Pet. 2. 13. Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man &c. Answered, Sauls Election not by the People : Difference in Religion quits not the due of Obedience.

The Novelty of the Doctrine of Resistance.

The Pharisees the first among the Jews.

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The Arguments for it, taken out of Bellarmine and the Jesuites, which many other Writers of the Church of Rome do contradict.

The Antient Fathers Loyalty to the worst of Emperors

1. *Constantly praying for them Tertullian, &c.*
 2. *Not giving the least Offence in word or Writing, St. Hillary Nazianzen &c.*
 3. *Not stirring up the people in their own defence.*
St. Augustines Commendation of the Christians under Julian, Tertullians under Severus,
St. Ambrose, Athanasius and others.
- That Evasion viz. That the Christians then wanted Power to resist, cleared out of Eusebius, Tertullian, St. Ambrose, Theodoret.*

Rebellion always found the Ruine of the Actors.

The Speech of Rodolphus upon his mortal wound in taking up Arms against the Emperor.
A Conclusive application.

Au Animadvertisement.

Such of the Bishops and Clergy as by Gods Mercy escaped with their Lives to Dublin, in that Bloody Rebellion in Ireland Anno 1641. and 1642. did conceive fitting at a so great, though sad meeting, to have somewhat like a Commencement in that University. The Doctors part (*pro gradu*) was the *Concio ad clerum*. The Text Rom. 13. 2. was taken out of the Epistle appointed for the day, being the Tuesday after the Fourth

Fourth Sunday after the *Epiphany*. The day (according to that account) of the late Kings (of Blessed Memory) murder. The Doctrine delivered, was then so offensive to some potent persons newly landed, that he was forced to send a *Copy* to the L. *Primate Usher*, who gave his approbation of it. And upon the Thirtieth of *January* last, 1660. (the day of Humiliation for the abovesaid Murder) it was preached in *English* at the Honorable Society of *Graves-Inn London*. The Intention was to have published it in that Language it had its first being, but by the Printers Experiment of the slowness of the Sale in that, as the better suiting with these other Tracts, and that the Profit intended would be of a farther extent, the *latter* was resolved of.

E R-

ERRATA.

P Age 14. line 19, read *the*. p. 25. l. 18. r. 2. marg. l. 1. 2. p. 27. l. 3. r. *bim*. l. 4. *ibec* p. 29. l. 19. r. *ibau*. p. 31. 10. *ibec*. p. 32. marg. l. 1. r. *Julianus* l. 5. r. *iniquus*. p. 40. marg. l. 27. r. *flexibus*. l. 31. r. *injuriam*. p. 45. marg. l. 6. r. *pontificumque*. p. 43. l. 24. *delect*. marg. l. 8. r. *per regiam*. 52. l. 31. r. *waited*. p. 56. l. 20. r. *calls*. p. 60. l. 9. r. *commendam*. p. 81. 6. r. *consecratum*. l. 7. r. *gratias*. p. 90. l. 9. r. *scarce*. l. 10. r. *inexcusable*. p. 95. 11. r. *quipbera* Job. 1. 5. 42. 8. p. 96. l. 3. r. *כל חנם* p. 97. 16. r. *stifies*. l. pen. *Merari*. l. ult. *after these* r. *the*. p. 100. l. 14. r. *דאשי אבות*. p. 101. l. 5. r. *camp*. l. 15. r. *Ashev*. p. 102. l. 12. r. *Furiber*. p. 103. l. 9. r. *Gibethon*. p. 105. l. 2. r. *נחמים* l. 4. *שטנים*. l. 6. *מחזיריט*. l. 7. *טענים*. p. 107. l. 22. r. *Gershom*. l. 23. r. *Etban*. l. ult. *שטנים*. p. 109. l. 12. r. *Benaiah*. l. 21. *קמים*. p. 112. l. 7. r. *Governors of the*. p. 113. l. 25. r. *Priest*. p. 114. l. 3. *dele the*. l. 20. *ave*. l. 30. *dele*. p. 115. l. 24. r. *they*. p. 116. l. 19. r. *of this mind*. l. ult. *dele us*. p. 117. l. 1. *degrees*. p. 122. l. 4. *ἀποδεδυγμένοι*. p. 128. l. 6. r. *Scythia*. p. 130. l. 26. r. *These*. p. 132. l. 26. r. *pari*. l. ult. r. *קמים*. p. 133. l. 18. r. *Οικονομίας* l. 23. *ἡγούμενος* l. 25. *Kuβερνаторς*. In marg. p. 134. l. 4. r. *דאש*—p. 150. l. 12. *dele 2*. p. 147. l. 2. r. *Christi*.

R *Ecensui Librum cui Titulus,*
CLAVI TRABALES.

Imprimatur

Tertio Nonas Sext.
1661.

MA. FRANCK. S. T. P.
Reverendo in Christo
Patri Episcopo Londi-
nensi à Sacris Deme-
sticis,



A
S P E E C H


Delivered in the
CASTLE-CHAMBER at DUBLIN.

22. of November, Anno 1622.

At the Censuring of some Officers who refused to take the

Oath of Supremacy.

By the late Lord Primate Usher then
Bishop of Meath.

hat the danger of the Law is for refusing
this Oath hath been sufficiently opened by
my Lords the Judges, and the quality and
quantity of that Offence hath been agrava-
ted to the full, by those that have spoken af-
ter them. The part which is most proper for me to deal in
is the information of the Conscience, touching the
Truth and Equity of the matters contained in the Oath ;
which I also have made choice the rather to insist upon, be-
cause

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Of the Oath

cause both the form of the Oath it self requireth herein a full resolution of the Conscience (as appeareth by those words in the very beginning thereof ; I do utterly testifie and declare in my Conscience &c.) And the Persons that stand here to be censured for refusing the same have alledged nothing in their own defence, but only the simple Plea of Ignorance.

That this point therefore may be cleared, and all needless Scruples removed out of mens minds : Two maine Branches there be of this Oath which require special Consideration. The one Positive, acknowledging the Supremacy of the Government of these Realms in all Causes whatsoever, to rest in the the Kings Highness only ; the other Negative, renouncing all Jurisdictions and Authorities of any Forraigne Prince or Prelate within His Majesties Dominions.

For the better understanding of the former we are in the first place to call unto our remembrance that Exhortation of St. Peter, Submit your selves unto every Ordinance of Man for the Lords sake, whether it be unto the King, as having the Preheminance, or unto Governors as unto them that are sent by him, for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well. By this we are taught to respect the King, not as the only Governor of his Dominions Simply (for we see there be other Governors placed under him) but as him that excelleth, and hath the preheminance over the rest, that is to say (according to the Tenure of the Oath) as him that is the only Supream Governor of his Realms. Upon which ground we may safely build this conclusion, that whatsoever Power is incident unto the King by vertue of his place, must be acknowledged to be

of Supremacy.

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be in him Supream, there being nothing so contrary to the nature of Sovereignty, as to have another Superior power to over-rule it.

Qui Rex est, Regem (Maximè) non habeat.

In the second place we are to consider, that God for the better settling of Piety and Honesty among men, and the repressing of Prophaneness and other Vices hath established two distinct powers upon earth, the one of the Keys committed to the Church, the other of the Sword committed to the Civil Magistrate. That of the Keys is ordained to work upon the Inner man, having immediate Relation to the remitting or retaining of sins. That of the Sword is appointed to work upon the outward man, yielding Protection to the obedient, and inflicting external punishment upon the Rebellious and Disobedient. By the former the spiritual Officers of the Church of Christ are enabled to govern well, to speak, and exhort, and rebuke with all authority, to loose such as are penitent, to commit others unto the Lords Prison until their amendment, or to bind them over unto the Judgment of the great Day) if they shall persist in their wilfulness and obstinacie. By the other, Princes have an imperious power assigned by God unto them, for the defence of such as do well, and executing revenge and wrath upon such as do evil, whether by death or banishment, or confiscation of Goods or Imprisonment, according to the quality of the offence.

John 10. 23.

1 Tim. 5. 17.
Tit. 2. 15.
Mat. 16. 19. &
18. 18

Rom. 13. 4:
Ezra 7. 26.

When St. Peter that had the Keys committed unto him, made bold to draw the Sword, he was commanded to put it up, as a weapon that he had no authority to meddle withall; and on the other side, when Uzziah the King would

Math. 26. 52.

2 Chron 16 18

venture upon the Execution of the Priests office, it was said unto him It pertaineth not unto thee Uzziah to burn incense unto the Lord, but to the Priests the Sons of Aaron, that are consecrated to burn Incense. Let this therefore be our second conclusion, that the Power of the Sword and of the Keys are two distinct ordinances of God, and that the Prince hath no more authority to enter upon the execution of any part of the Priests function, then the Priest hath to intrude upon any part of the office of the Prince.

In the third place we are to observe that the power of the Civil Sword, (the Supream managing whereof, belongeth to the King alone) is not to be restrained unto temporal causes only, but is by Gods ordinance to be extended likewise unto all Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Things and Causes; That as the Spiritual Rulers of the Church do exercise their kind of Government in bringing men unto obedience, not of the duties of the first Table alone, (which concerneth Piety and the Religious Service which man is bound to perform unto his Creator) But also of the second (which respecteth moral honesty, and the Offices that man doth owe unto man:) So the Civil Magistrate is to use his Authority also in redressing the abuses committed against the first Table, as well as against the Second, that is to say as well in punishing of an Heretick or an Idolater or a Blasphemer, as of a Thief, or a Murderer, or a Traytor, and in providing by all good means, that such as live under his Government may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all Piety and Honesty.

1 Tim. 2. 2.

And howsoever by this means we make both Prince and Priest to be in their several places. custodes utriusque Tabulae. Keepers of both Gods Tables, yet do we not hereby any way confound both of their Offices together; for though
any

Of Supremacy.

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the matter wherein their government is exercised, may be the same, yet is the form and manner of governing them alwayes different, the one reaching to the outward man only, the other to the Inward; the one binding or loosing the soul, the other laying hold on the body, and the things belonging thereunto: The one having speciall reference to the Judgement of the world to come, the other respecting the present, retaining or loosing of some of the comforts of this Life.

That there is such a * Civil Government as this in Causes Spiritual and Ecclesiasticall no man of Judgement can deny; For must not Heresie (for example) be acknowledged to be a Cause meerly Spirituall or Ecclesiasticall? and yet by what power is an Heretick put to death? The Officers of the Church have no authority to take away the life of any man, it must be done therefore per brachium seculare, and consequently it must be yeelded without contradiction, that the Temporall Magistrate doth exercise therein a part of his Civil Government in punishing a crime that is of its own nature Spiritual or Ecclesiasticall.

But here it will be said, the words of the Oath being generall that the King is the only supreme Governor of this Realm, and of all other his Highness Dominions and Countries. How may it appear, that the power of the Civil Sword is only meant by that Government, and that the power of the Keys is not comprehended therein? I answer, First that where a Civil Magistrate is affirmed to be the Governor of his own Dominions and Countries; by common intendment this must needs be understood of a Civil Government, and may in no reason be extended to that which is meerly of another kind. Secondly, I say, That where an Ambiguity is conceived to be in any part of

* As on the other side, that a Spirituall or Ecclesiasticall Government is exercised in Causes Civil or Temporal; For is not Excommunication a main part of Ecclesiasticall Government, and Foreſt Law a special branch of causes temporal, yet we see in *entendit*, said *Super Chartas*, An. 11 R. H. 3. that the Bishops of England pronounce a solemn sentence of Excommunication against the Intruders of the liberties contained in *Charta de foresta*.

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Of the Oath

an Oath, it ought to be taken according to the understanding of him for whose satisfaction the Oath was ministered. Now in the case, it hath been sufficiently declared by publick authority, that no other thing is meant by the Government here mentioned but that of the Civil Sword only.

For in the book of Articles agreed upon by the Archbishop and Bishops, and the whole Clergie in the Convocation holden at London Anno 1562. Thus we read, Where we attribute to the Queens Majesty the Chiet Government (by which Titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folkes to be offended) we give not to our Princes the Ministering either of Gods word or of the Sacraments. (the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen, doth most plainly testifie) but that only prerogative which we see to have been given alwayes to all Godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himself, that is, that they should rule all Estates and degrees committed to their Charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiasticall or Temporall, and restrain with the Civil Sword the stubborn and evill doers.

If it be here objected, that the Authority of the Convocation is not a sufficient ground for the Exposition of that which was enacted in Parliament: I answer that these Articles stand confirmed, not only by the Royall assent of the Prince (for the establishing of whose Supremacy, the Oath was framed) but also by a speciall Act of Parliament, which is to be found among the Statutes, in the thirteenth yeer of Queen Elizabeth, Cap. 12. Seeing therefore the makers of the Law have full authority to expound the Law, and they have sufficiently manifested, that by the Supream Government given to the Prince, they

under-

understand that kind of Government only which is exercised with the Civil Sword: I conclude that nothing can be more plaine then this, that without all scruple of conscience the Kings Majesty may be acknowledged in this sense to be the only Supream Governor of all his Highness Dominions and Countrys, as well in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Things or Causes, as temporal, and so have I cleered the first main branch of the Oath.

I come now unto the Second which is propounded negatively: That no forreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction Power, Superiority, Preheminence or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual within this Realm. The Forreiner that challengeth this Ecclesiastical or Spiritual Jurisdiction over us is the Bishop of Rome: And the Title whereby he claimeth the Power over us, is the same whereby he claimeth it over the whole world, because he is St. Peters Successor forsooth. And indeed if St. Peter himself had been now alive, I should freely confess that he ought to have spiritual Authority, and Superiority within this Kingdom, But so would I say also if St. Andrew, St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, or any of the other Apostles had been alive, for I know that their Commission was very large, to go into all the world, and to preach the Gospel unto every Creature. So that in what part of the world soever they lived, they could not be said to be out of their charge, their Apostleship being a kind of an universal Bishoprick. If therefore the Bishop of Rome, can prove himself to be one of this Rank, the Oath must be amended; and we must acknowledge that he hath Ecclesiastical Authority within this Realm.

Mark 16. 15.

True it is that our Lawyers in their yearly Books, by the name:

name of the Apostle do usually designe the Pope. But if they had examined his Title to that Apostleship, as they would try an Ordinary mans Title to a Piece of Land, they might easily have found a number of Flaws and main defects therein; for first it would be enquired, whether the Apostleship was not ordained by our Saviour Christ, as a special Commission, which being personal only was to determine with the death of the first Apostles. For howsoever

Acts 1. 25, 26.

at their first entry into the Execution of this Commission, we find that Matthias was admitted to the Apostleship in the Roome of Judas; yet afterwards when James the Brother of John was slain by Herod, we do not read that any other was substituted in his place. Nay we know that the Apostles generally left no Successors in this kind: Neither did any of the Bishops (he of Rome only excepted) that sate in those famous Churches wherein the Apostles exercised their Ministry, challenge an Apostleship or an Universal Bishoprick by vertue of that succession.

It would Secondly therefore be enquired what sound evidence they can produce, to shew that one of the Company was to hold the Apostleship, as it were in Fee, for him and his Successors for ever, and that the other Eleven should hold the same for Term of life only. Thirdly, if this State of perpetuity was to be cast upon one, how came it to fall upon St. Peter, rather then upon St. John, who outlived all the rest of his Fellows, and so as a Surviving Feoffee, had the fairest Right to retain the same in himself and his Successors for ever; Fourthly if that State were wholly settled upon St. Peter, seeing the Romanists themselves acknowledge, that he was Bishop of Antioch before he was Bishop of Rome; We require them to shew, why so great an Inheritance as this, should descend unto the

the younger Brother (as it were by Borough-English) rather than to the Elder (according to the ordinary manner of descents) especially seeing Rome hath little else to alledge for this preferment, but only that St. Peter was crucified in it, which was a slender reason to move the Apostles so to respect it. Seeing therefore the grounds of this great claime of the Bishop of Rome appear to be so vain and frivolous, I may safely conclude that he ought to have no Ecclesiastical or Spiritual Authority within this Realme, which is the principal point contained in the second part of the Oath.

King JAMES His Gracious Letter of Thanks to the Primate for his Speech.

JAMES R.

Right Reverend Father in God, and Right Trusty and well beloved Counsellor We greet you well, you have not deceived Our expectation, nor the gracious opinion We ever conceived both of Your Abilities in learning, and of your Faithfulness to Us and Our Service; Whereof as We have received sundry Testimonies

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both

Of the Oath &c.

both from Our precedent Deputys, as likewise from Our Right Trusty and well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor the *Viscount Falkland*, Our present Deputy of that Realm, so have We now of late in one particular had a farther Evidence of your Duty and Affection well expressed by your late carriage in Our *Castle Chamber* there, at the censure of those disobedient Magistrates, who refused to take the *Oath of Supremacy*, wherein your zeale to the maintenance of Our just and lawfull Power, defended with so much Learning and Reason, deserves Our Princely and Gracious Thanks, which We do by this Our Letter unto you, and so bid you farewell,

Given under Our Signet at Our Court at White-Hall the Eleventh of January 1622. In the Twentieth Year of Our Reign of Great Britain, France and Ireland.

To the Right Reverend Father in God, and Our Right Trusty and Well-Beloved Councillor The Bishop of Meath.

A SPEECH delivered by the
 Lord PRIMATE USHER be-
 fore the Lord Deputy and the
 great Assembly at His Majesties
 Castle in DUBLIN, A-
 pril the last 1627.

MY LORD,



He Resolution of these Gentlemen in denying
 to contribute unto the supplying of the Army
 sent hither for their defence, doth put me in
 mind of the Philosophers observation, That
 such as have respect unto a few things, are
 easily misled; the present pressure which they sustain, by
 the imposition of the Soldiers, and the desire they have to
 be eased of that Burthen, doth so wholly possess their minds,
 that they have only an eye to the freeing of themselves
 from that Incumbrance, without looking at all to the Deso-
 lations that are like to come upon them by a long and heavy
 War, which the having of an Army in readines might be
 a means to have prevented. The lamentable effects of our
 last Wars in this Kingdom, doth yet freshly stick in our
 Memories. Neither can we so soon forget the depopulation
 of

The Duty of Subjects to

of our land, when besides the Combustions of War, the extremity of Famine grew so great, that the very women in some places by the way side, have surpris'd the men that rode by to feed themselves with the flesh of the horse or the rider; and that now again here is a storm towards wheresoever it will light, every wise man will easily foresee, which if we be not carefull to meet with in time, our State may prove irrecoverable, when it will be too late to think of. Had I wist.

The dangers that now threaten us are partly from abroad, and partly from home; Abroad, we are now at odds with two of the most Potent Princes in Christendom, and to both which, in former times the discontented persons in this Country have had recourse, proffering the Kingdom it self unto them, if they would undertake the conquest of it. For it is not unknown unto them that look into the search of those things, that in the days of King Henry the Eighth, the Earl of Desmond made such an offer of this Kingdom to the French King; (the instrument whereof yet remains upon record in the Court at Paris) and the Bishop of Rome afterwards transferred the Title of all our Kingdoms unto Charles the Fifth; which by new Grants was confirmed unto his Son Phillip, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, with a resolution to settle this Crown upon the Spanish Infanta; which Donations of the Popes, howsoever in themselves, they are of no value, yet will they serve for a fair colour to a potent Pretender, who is able to supply by the Power of the Sword whatsoever therein may be thought defective. Hereunto may we adde that of late in Spain, at the very same time when the Treaty of the Match was in hand, there was a Book published, with great approbation there, by one of this Country Birth

Phillip

Phillip O Sullivan, wherein the Spaniard is taught, that the ready way to establish his Monarchy (for that is the only thing he mainly aimeth at, and is plainly there confessed) is first to set upon Ireland, which being quickly obtain'd, the Conquest of Scotland first, of England next, then of the Low-Countreys, is foretold with great facility will follow after.

Neither have we more cause in this Regard to be afraid of a Forreign Invasion, than to be jealous of a Domestic Rebellion, where lest I be mistaken, as your Lordships have been lately, I must of necessity put a difference betwixt the Inhabitants of this Nation; some of them are descended of the Race of the antient English, or otherwise hold their Estates from the Crown, and have possessions of their own to stick unto, who easily may be trusted against a Forreign Invader, although they differ from the State in matter of Religion; for proof of which fidelity in this kind, I need go no further than the late Wars in the time of the Earl of Tyrone wherein they were assaulted with as powerfull temptations to move them from their Loyalty as possibly hereafter can be presented unto them for at that time, not only the King of Spain did confederate himself with the Rebels, and landed his forces here for their assistance, but the Bishop of Rome also with his Breves and Bulls, solicited our Nobility and Gentry to revolt from their obedience to the Queen; Declaring that the English did fight against the Catholick Religion, and ought to be oppugned as much as the Turks, imparting the same Favours to such as should set upon them, that he doth unto such as fight against the Turk, and finally promising unto them that the God of peace would tread down their enemys under their feet speedily; and yet for all the Popes Promises

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Promises and Threatnings which were also seconded by a Declaration of the Divines of Salamanca and Valledolid, not only the Lords and Gentlemen did constantly continue their Allegiance unto the Queen, but also were encouraged so to do, by the Priests of the Pale, that were of the Popish Profession who were therefore vehemently taxed by the Traytor O Sullivan; for exhorting them to follow the Queens side, which he is pleas'd to term Infaniam & venenosam Doctrinam & Tartareum dogma, A mad and venomous Doctrine, and a hellish opinion; but besides these, there are a great number of Irish, who either beare a secret grudge against the English planted among them, or having nothing at all to loose upon the first occasion, are apt to joyn with any Foreign Invader, for we have not used that policy in our Plantations, that wise States have used in former times. They when they settled new Colonys in any place, did commonly translate the antient Inhabitants to other dwellings; We have brought new Planters into the land, and have left the old Inhabitants to shift for themselves, who being strong in body, and daily increasing in number, and seeing themselves deprived of their means and maintenance, which they and their Ancestors have formerly enjoyed, will undoubtedly be ready when any occasion is offered to disturb our quiet, whether then we cast our eyes abroad, or look at home, we see our danger is very great.

Neither may you, My Lords and Gentlemen, that differ from us in point of Religion, imagine that the Community of profession, will exempt you more then us from the danger of a Common-Enemy; Whatsoever you may expect from a Forraigner you may conjecture by the Answer which the Duke of Medina Sidonia gave in this Case

O Sullivan
Hist. Cathol.
Hib. fol. 20. c
263.

in 88. That his Sword knew no difference between a Catholique and a Heretique, but that he came to make way for his Master; and what kindness you may look for from the Countrey-men that joyn with them, you may judge as well by the carriage which they ordinarily use towards you and yours, both in the Court, and in the Colledges abroad, as by the advice not long since presented by them unto the Councel of Spain, wherein they would not have so much as the Irish Priests and Jesuites that are descended of English blood to be trusted, but would have you and all yours to be accounted enemies to the designs of Spain. In the Declaration publisht about the beginning of the Insurrection of James Fitz-Morice in the South, the Rebels professed it was no part of their meaning to subvert, honorabile Anglorum solium. Their Quarrel was only against the Person of Queen Elizabeth, and her Government; but now the case is otherwise, the translating of the Throne of the English to the power of a Forreigner, is the thing that mainly is intended, and the re-establishing of the Irish in their antient possessions, which by the valour of our Ancestors were gained from them.

This you may assure your self, Manet alta mente repodum, and makes you more to be hated of them than any other of the English Nation whatsoever. The danger therefore being thus common to us all, it stands us upon to joyn our best helps for the avoiding of it, only the manner how this may be effected is in question. It was wont to be said, Iniquum petas ut requiem teras, and such perhaps might be the intent of the Project, the other day propounded unto you; but now I observe the distaste you have conceived against that, hath so far possessed you, that you can hardly be drawn to listen to any equal motion. The Exceptions taken

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ken against the Project, are partly general, made by all, partly special that toucheth only some particulars, of the former there are two, the quantity of the sum demanded, and the indefiniteness of the time, which is unlimited; for the proportion required for the maintenance of Five thousand Foot and Five hundred horse you alledge to be so great, and your means so small, that in undertaking that which you are no ways able to perform, you should but delude His Majesty, and disappoint the Army of their expected pay. And although the sum required were far less, and for a time able to be borne by you, yet are you fearful that the payment being continued for some number of years, may afterwards be continued, as a constant revenue to His Majesties Exchequer with which perpetual burden you are unwilling to charge your Posterity.

The Exceptions of the second kind are taken against the grants annexed unto the former demands, the granting whereof seemed rather to hinder then further the Service, as not so agreeing with the Rules of Equity; for first some have the full benefit of the grants, and have their charge little augmented, as the Countrys which pay composition Rents, which by those grants during the time of the New payments are suspended. Secondly, others that have the charge of the payments imposed upon them to the full, are not Partakers at all of the benefit of the grants, as the Brittish planted in the six escheated Countys of Ulster. Thirdly such as are most forward to further His Majesties Service, and to contribute with the Most, are troubled in Conscience for yielding thereto upon the Terms proposed, especially for that Condition whereby the Execution of the Statute against Recusants is offered to be forborne.

Wherin

Wherein if some of my Bretheren the Bishops have been thought to have shewed themselves more forward then wise in preaching publiquesly against this kind of Toleration: I hope the great charge laid upon them by your selves in Parliament, wherein that Statute was enacted will plead their ex. use. For there the Lords Temporal, and all the Commons do in Gods name earnestly require and charge all Arch-Bishops and Bishops and other ordinaries, that they shall endeavor themselves to the utmost of their knowledge, that the due and true execution of this Statute may be had throughout their Diocesses, and charged as they will answer it before God, for such Evils and Plagues as Almighty God might justly punish his people for neglecting those good and wholesome Laws, so that if in this case they had holden their tongues, they might have been censured little better then Atheists, and made themselves necessary to the drawing down of Gods heavy vengeance upon the people. Stat. Hyb. 20.
6th.

But if for these and such like Causes the former Project will not be admitted, we must not therefore think our selves discharged from taking further care to provide for our safeties. Other consultations must be had, and other counsels thought upon which need not to be liable to the like Exceptions; where the burthen is borne in common, and the aid required to be given to the Prince by his Subjects that are of different Judgments in Religion, it stands not with the ground of common Reason, that such a condition, should be annexed unto the Gift, as must of necessity deter the one party from giving at all, upon such Terms as are repugnant to their Consciences. As therefore on the one side, if we desire that the Recusants should joyn with us in granting of a common aid, we should not put in the

D

condition

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condition of executing the Statute, which we are sure they would not yield unto; so on the other side, if they will have us to joyn with them in the like contribution they should not require the condition of suspending the Statute to be added, which we in conscience cannot yield unto. The way will be then freely to grant unto his Majesty what we give, without all manner of condition that may seem unequal unto any side, and to refer unto his own sacred breast how far he will be pleased to extend or abridge his Favours, of whose Lenity in forbearing the executing of the Statute, our Recalcitrants have found such experience, that they cannot expect a greater liberty, by giving any thing that is demanded, then now already they do freely enjoy.

Pat. An. 11.
Hen. 3. in Tur.
Loud.

As for the fear that this voluntary contribution may in time be made a matter of Necessity, and imposed as a perpetual charge upon posterity, it may easily be holpen, with such a clause as we find added in the grant of an ayde made by the Popes Council An. 11. H. 3. out of the Ecclesiastical Profits of this Land, *Quod non debet trahi in consuetudinem*, of which kinds of Grants, many other Examples of later memory might be produced, and as for the proportion of the sum which you thought to be so great in the former proposition, it is my Lords desire that you should signify unto him, what you think you are well able to bear, and what your selves will be content voluntarily to proffer. To allege as you have done, that you are not able to bear so great a charge, as was demanded may stand with some reason, but to plead an inability to give anything at all, is neither agreeable to reason or duty.

You say you are ready to serve the King as your Ancestors did heretofore with your bodies and lives, as if the supply of the Kings wants with monys, were a thing unknown to our

Fore-

Fore-fathers. But if you will search the Pipe-Rolls you shall finde the names of those who contributed to King Henry the third for a matter that did less concern the Subjects of this Kingdom, then the help that is now demanded; namely for the marrying of his Sister to the Emperor.

Pat. An. 3.
Hen. 3. Mem-
bran. 9.

In the Records of the same King kept in England, we finde his Letters Patents directed hither into Ireland, for levying of money to help to pay his debts unto Lewis the Son of the King of France. In the Rolls of Gasconie we finde the like Letter directed by King Edward the Second unto the Gentlemen and Merchants of Ireland, of whose names there is a List there set down, to give him aid in his Expedition into Aquitain, and for defence of his Land (which is now the thing in question.) We finde an Ordinance likewise made in the time of Edward the Third, for the personall taking of them that lived in England, and hold Lands and Tenements in Ieland.

Pat. Gascony
An. 18 Edw.
2. membr. 25.
indo. 5.

Pat. an. 44.
Edw. 3. in Ar-
ch v. Tur.
Land.

Nay in this Case you must give me leave as a Divine to tell you plainly, that to supply the King with means for the necessary defence of your Countrey, is not a thing left to your own discretion, either to doe or not to doe, but a matter of duty, which in conscience you stand bound to perform.

The Apostle Rom. 13. having affirmed that we must be subject to the higher powers, not only for wrath but for Conscience sake; adds this as a reason to confirm it, for, for this cause you pay Tribute also, as if the denying of such payment, could not stand with conscienceable Subjection; thereupon he inferres this conclusion. Render therefore unto all their due; tribute to whom tribute, custome to whom custome is due. Agreeable

The Duty of Subjects &c.

Math. 22. 21.

Mal. 3. 2.

to that known Lesson which he had learned of our Saviour
 Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and
 unto God the things which are Gods : Where you may
 observe that as to with-hold from God the things which
 are Gods, man is said to be a Robber of God : whereof he
 himself thus complaineth in case of sub:acting of Tythes
 & Oblations : So to deny a supply to Cæsar of such means
 as are necessary for the support of his Kingdom, can be ac-
 counted no less then a Robbing of him, of that which is
 his due, which I wish you seriously to ponder, and to think
 better of yielding something to this present Necessity, that
 we may not return from you an undutifull answer, which
 may justly be displeasing to his Majesty.

 ROM.



ROM. 13. 2:

*Whoſoever reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth
the Ordinance of God ; and they
that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves
Damnation. by Mic. Bernard*

THe former Chapter may be called the A-
poſtles *Ethicks* ; this his *Politicks* ; in the
former he had taught them their dutys
one to another, in this, towards the *Magi-
ſtrate*. And for this ſubject, *De officio Sub-
ditorum* both *St. Peter*, and this our Apoſtle are ve-
ry often and copious upon, not only in *this* Epiſtle, but
in divers others, inculcating it as his *laſt* words to *Timo-
thy* and *Titus*, chargeing them to teach it to the genera-
tion ſucceeding, *1 Tim. 2. 1. & 3. 1.* And (a) ſome Ex-
poſitors conceive one Cauſe to be the *Rumor* then falſly
raiſed upon the Apoſtles, as if they had been *Seditious*
Innovators of the Roman Laws, and the Kingdom of
Chriſt preached by them, tended to the abſolving Sub-
jects

*Plurima tunc
temporū cir-
cumſerebatur
ſama traducens
Apoſtolos veluti
ſeditioſos ve-
rumque innova-
tores, &c.*

The Original of

jects from their obedience to *any other*. Whose mouths he here stops in shewing that the laws of Christ were not induced for the *overturning* the Civil, but *confirming*; not *abolishing*, but *establishing* and making them the more *sacred*. Abhorring those *tumultuous* spirits who under pretext of Religion and Christian liberty, run into Rebellion as if there could be no perfect service of Christ, *nisi excusso terrena potestatis iugo*, without casting off the yoke of earthly power.

In the text it self he exhorts to a *Loyall subjection* from these two principall Arguments. First from the *Original* of Regall Power, *ordained of God*; Secondly the *Penalty* of resisting it, threatned as from God himself; *They shall receive to themselves damnation*.

Every word in the Text hath its *Emph. sis*.

Whosoever] See how he commands a *subjection* without exception as in the former verse, *Let every Soul: Omnis Anima, si Apostolus sis, si Evangelista, si Prophetas, si quisquis tandem fueris* (as S. Chrysostom upon the place.)

Resisteth] *si resistas ei*, which implies how all preparative *Ordering* of forces & *Risings* to that end (as the *Syrack* renders it *qui insurgit*) are condemned, as a violation of Gods Ordinance; not only an *actnall* resistance by open force in the field, commonly called *Rebellion* (like that of *Abolom* against *David*, *Feroboam* against *Rehoboam*) but all *secret* undermining of a Prince by fraud and falsehood tending to it.

The Power] 'Tis observable the Apostle rather mentions the *power* then the *person* armed with it, to reach us we should not so much mind the *worth* of the person as the *authority* it self he bears. We acknowledge that sacred *Apothegme* of the Apostle (*Acts 5. 29.*) 'tis bet-

erto obey God then man : but both may be at once obeyed : God *actively*, and the Magistrate *passively*, as the Apostles themselves then did.

The Ordinance of God] As if Rebellion were *Giant-like*, (b) *awaging of war with God himself*, as St. Chrysostome hath it, which tully checks that *proud conceit of some* (*viz.*) that being made heirs of God, they are no longer to be made subject to man.

b) ὁ μὴ ἐπαχύνει
ἐαυτὸν τὸ θεῶ
πολεμεῖ. in Rom.
tiom. 23.

Receive to themselves damnation.] As the Rebellion is against God, so from God the penalty is threatned, and that not (c) a common one, but exceeding heavy, as St. Chrysostom upon it. The Vulgar Latin reads it, *Ipsi sibi damnationem acquirunt*, implying the vanity & madness of it, *Nemo enim sanus seipsum laedit*, Men that run their heads against a Rock, hurt themselves, not it : and so in conclusion Rebels seek their own ruine; and bring upon themselves swift damnation 2 Pet. 2.

(c) ὁ δὲ τὴν τι-
μὴν ἀπαιτῶ-
σιν δούλου παρὰ
καταπάντα, ἀλλὰ
καὶ σφοδρὰ με-
γίστην in Rom.
tiom. 23.

By this short Paraphrase upon the words, these two observations may be deduced : First, that *Regal power* is derived from God : Secondly, that it is *not lawfull for Subjects* to take up Arms in the resistance of it without being *fighters against God*, and in *peril of damnation*.

The first is so apparent that I need not insist upon it : 'Tis acknowledged even by heathens ἐν δὲ τοῖς βασιλείαις, called *royautés divines*, &c. You see it *de facto* in the old Testament Moses (who was *King in Jeshurun*) was appointed of God, and Jeshua succeeding him, the Judges as *Elective Kings* were raised by him also : Saul, David, &c. 'Tis the complaint of God (*Hosea* the 8.) *fecerunt reges, sed non ex me* ; They have made themselves Kings, but not by me. God, who is the God

(d) Dent. 33. 5.

of

The Original of

of Order, and not of Confusion, was pleased from the very first to take care of constituting a successive Monarchy; *The first-born* was his own establishment in his speech to *Cain* (though a bad, and his Brother *Abel* a righteous person) only by right of his *primogeniture* (*Gen. 4. 9*) *his desire shall be subject to thee, and thou shalt rule over him*, from whence it succeeded in *Jacobs* family (*Gen. 49. 28*) *Ruben thou art my first born, the excellency of dignity and the excellency of power* (*Gen. 49. 28*) *honor and authority* (1, c.) the *supremacy* of both, and when he with *Symeon* and *Levy* for their severall crimes were disinherited by their father, and the primogeniture fallen to *Judah*; to him it was said, *thou art he whom thy brethren shall honour, thy Fathers children shall bow down unto thee* (ver. 10.) to whom the *Scepter* was given, and the gathering or Assemblies of the People. That as in the creation in the Natural government of the world God made one ruler of the day, the Sun, the sole fountain of Light (for the Moon and *Starres* are but as a Vice Roy or subordinate Governors, deriving theirs from him:) so was it in the Civil Government also.

As God (by whom Kings reign, and who have the Title of God given them, *I have said ye are Gods*) is one; so was he pleased to represent himself in one accordingly, and in the Text ordained by him.

1. Object.

There is a place which the adversaries of this doctrine much insist upon, 'tis out of *S. Peter 1. Epist. c. 2. 13.* where he calls ^{the} Magistrate an *Ordinance of man*: *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man* (as we render it) *for the Lords sake, whether to the King as supreme, or Governors sent by him, &c.*

The

The Answer is ready, that this is no ways a contradiction to St. Paul in this Text; for,

1. By an humane Ordinance he doth not meane an humane Invention, but *quia inter homines institutam*, because it was ordained or appointed among or over men, called humane, *respectu termini sive subjecti*, but yet divine, *respectu authoris primarii*.

2. The word *κτίσις*, which we render Ordinance (being, as (e) Rivetus observeth) never so taken throughout the Scripture were better rendred Creature (which it properly signifies) as the vulgar Latine doth it, *omni humana creatura*, to every humane creature. Now creature is frequently taken for what is eminent and excellent, as if the sense were, submit your selves *to all that do excell*, or are eminent amongst or over men, according to the next words, *whether to the King*, *ως ὑπὸ βασιλέως*, that excelleth: and the Hebrews do sometimes by a Creation imply a Rare and Eminent thing, Num. 16. 30. *Si creationem creaverit deus. i. e.* if the Lord make a new or rare thing, To which agrees that of our Saviour in his last words to his Apostles, Mark 16. 15. *Preach the Gospel to every Creature, i. e. man*: Because of his excellencie above all sublunary Creatures. (f) And thus why may not the King for the same cause, be so called here. So that St. Peter is so far from denying Regal Power to be ordained of God, that he rather confirms it. (g) A Creature, therefore the act of the Creator, and by way of excellency, therefore of God the sole original of it, and for the Lords sake, i. e. who hath so ordained him, or whom he represents.

actus creatoris est humana per excellentiam, ideo a Deo originem traxisse qui origo est omnis excellentia, quod sequentia etiam confirmant, illa γὰρ κτίσις propter admodum, i. e. quia cum instituit dominus.

(e) In Decalog. Præf. 5. Nomen creature. (He enim malum vocem κτίσις reddere, quam per ordinationem, cum nullibi in Scriptura tali sensu reperitur usurpata) accipere est pro eminentia ut sensus sit, subjecti esse eis qui inter homines eminent, sicut immediate addit sive Regis. *ως ὑπὸ βασιλέως*, quasi explicare voluisset ambiguum vocem κτίσις.

(f) Sic quid nisi a Petro hic per excellentiam Rex dicitur, humana Creatura quia inter reliquos homines eminent, ibidem.

(g) Ibid. quia dicitur Creatura. ideo

The Original of

2 Object.
Answer

For that objection of *Saul's* being elected by the people; the contrary appears (1 Sam. 12. 8. 5.) where *Samuel* saith thus to them, *Dominus constituit regem super vos*, and they to *Samuel* as a Delegate from God, *Constitu nobis Regem*, who in the name of God proposed to them *jus Regis*. And though *Saul* was elected by a *Sacred Lot*, yet ye have not the like again after him in *David*, *Solomon*, or any other, but they succeeded *jure hereditario*.

3 Object.
Answer

But have evil Kings their power from God, Indeed as evil, they are not of him, because no evil can descend from him, *from whom every good and perfect gift doth*, (though for the sins of people, God may justly permit such) but we must sever their *personal* stains as *men*, from their lawfull Authority received of God, which looseth not its essence by such an *accession*, 'tis no true maxime, *Dominium fundatur in gratia*, St. Paul applys that of *Exod 22.* to *Ananias*, *Acts 23.* *Thou shalt not speak evil of the Ruler of thy people*, though he commanded him unjustly to be smitten. *Pilate* condemning *Innocency* it self, our *Saviour* acknowledgeth his power to have been *from above*, *thou couldst not have any power over me; Nisi tibi data esset de super.* *Claudius or Nero* (whom elsewhere St. Paul calls a *Lion*) reigned when he writ this Epistle, and is doubtless included in the verse before the Text: the *powers that be* (i. e. now in being) *are ordained of God*, and exhorts to pay unto him as the *Minister of God* the due of *Tribute, Custome, Fear, Honour, &c.* *Daniel* acknowledgeth *Nebuchadnezzars* dominion and Kingdom to have been given him of God, which copy the *Fathers* of the Primitive Church under *Christianity* we find to have wrote after,

Con-

Constantine was an Arrian, and had exiled many of the Orthodox Bishops, yet *Athanasius* in his Apology to them saith thus, *God hath given the Empire to thee; whosoever shall with an evil eye reproach it, doth contrary to Gods Ordinance.*

(h) *Tertullian* saith thus to the Emperor *Severus* in his Apologie for the Christians, *We must needs have him in great honor whom our Lord hath chosen, that I may truly say Caesar is rather ours then yours, as being constituted by our God, acknowledging him next to God, and less then God only, according to that known speech of Optatus: Super Imperatorem non est nisi solus Deus qui fecit Imperatorem: There is none above the Emperor but God only, who made him Emperor. And surely in the Text St. Paul can mean no other by the Powers, but the Roman Empire and Heathens, for none that were Christians had then any dominion. And so much for the first, that Kings and their Royal Power are of Gods ordination.*

This supposed, the second point necessarily follows (which we shall a little longer insist upon) viz. that it is not lawfull for Subjects to take up Arms against their lawfull Prince without being fighters against God, and running the hazard of damnation, according to the Text, *They that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation.*

The (k) *Pharisees* (as *Josephus* tells us) a subtle kind of men, prond, scrupulous about the Law, wherein they placed their Religion, having a seeming shew of piety, *na legi gloriantes, & speciem pietatis simulantes, Caesari (et si cuncta gens judaica) surrejunctando jurassent fidelitatem jurare recusaverunt, imo, qui numero erant supra sex milia, Regibus adeo inest fuerunt ut eos aperte oppugnare ausi fuerint Josephus. Antiq. 17. cap. 3.*

apol. ad constant.

Tibi Deus Imperium commisi qui cum imperium malignis oculis carpit contradi- cit ordinationi divine.

(h) *Apolog. Neceesse est ut suspicemus eum quem Dominus noster elegit, & merito dixerim, noster est magis Caesar ut a nostro deo constitutus.*

(i) *Colimus Imperatorem ut benium a deo secundum, & solo deo minorem. ad caput.*

2.

(k) *Pharisei genus hominum astutum, arrogant, de scrupuloseitate pater-*

took themselves to be of *exempt jurisdiction*, and being about 6000. besides their party among the people which they had influence upon, *stiffly refused to take the Oath of Allegiance to Caesar*, (and indeed were the first we read of that did so, *for the whole Nation of the Jews had done it*) and were great opposites to Regal power. There are too many who of late years have trod in their steps, one writes a seditious book, as an *Anonymous*, another puts a *feigned name* to it, by which dissimulation they shew what is to be thought of the thing itself: *Nam qui luce indigna tractat, lucem fugit*, some of whom being of the *vulgar*, (and each are most apt to advance their own Order) have so promoted the pretended right of the *people*, that not being satisfied in *quitting* of Subjects from their obedience to their King, they have also (subverting the very course of Nature) given the people power *over* their King, And I wish the *Jesuits* only had given their votes to these *paradoxes*, but (which is the more to be lamented) there are some of our *own*, at least bearing the name, who either out of an overmuch desire to be *heads* of parties, or drawn to it like *Balaam* for the wages of *unrighteousness*, have to the Scandall of our profession) delivered the same opinion with the *Jesuits*, and have taken their arguments out of them.

(1) Principem esse propter populum principem potestatem ex lege & auctoritate humana. Populum nunquam ita suam potestatem in regem transferre, quin illam sibi in habitu retineat, & in certis casibus, etiam actu recipere possit l. 5. de Pontif. c. 8. quod lib. c. 8. confirmat exemplis Oziz & Athalia, qui ope populi, a solio fuerunt dejecti.

(1) Bellarmine in his first book *de pontifice Romano* cap. 8. affirms, *That the Prince was made for the People, That Principality is from humane Law and Authority, That the People can never so farre transferre their Power*

overt to a King, but they retain the habit of it still within themselves, and in some cases may actually reassume it; which he confirms (in his 5. book cap. 8.) by the Examples of Ozia and Athalia, who were deposed by the people; These have been the Assertions of some of our own, urged in the same sense and manner.

Who hath not heard of these *Maximes* (m) So long as a King keeps his obligation, the people are obliged to theirs; he that governs as he ought, may expect to be accordingly obeyed. They that constitute may dispose, &c. But are not these transcribed out of the *aforenamed Writers*.

It was the speech of the * *Bishop of Meins* when the Emperor *Henry the fourth's* deposing was agitated;

Quem meritum investivimus quare non immeritum de-vestiamus, i. e. Him while well meriting we invested with the Empire, why may not we for his unworthiness disinvest again; (n) *Gregory the seventh* (vulgarly *Hildebrand*) the Patron of *Rebellious* subjects endeavoured to draw them away from the Emperor, *Quem admodum militem ignavam imperator*, &c. i. e. as the Emperor may *Cashier* a sluggish Souldier that neglects his duty in the Camp: So may the souldiery put off or desert an unfit King or Emperor. The Obligations of Subjects are quitted if Princes recede from theirs. Thus much to shew how neer of kin such are to the *Sea of Rome*, which is a professed Adversary to Regall power, according to *St. Pauls* description of that man of sin, 2 *Thes.* 2. 10. Who opposeth himself against all that is called God, i. e. Kings so called in *Psalms*.

But now leaving these *Parallels*, let us come to the matter it self, and prove what we have asserted, both
our

(m) *Sip inceptis promissis servet, & non servabitur: Bene im- perant, bene obtemperandū: ad quem per- tinet institutio ad eundem de- stitutio.*

* *Helmold in Chron. Slav.*

(n) *Avent. 5. annal.*

* *Si ab articu- lis recedunt principes non debet obligatio nocere sub- tis, ibid.*

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out of *holy Writ*, the *ancient Fathers*, and *Practice* of the *Primitive Church*, who we shall finde have not limited their loyalty within that narrow compass, *viz.* the *Kings defence of the true Religion*, but continued it under their opposition to it.

First, That those who have or shall presume *thus* to resist, doe tread under feet the *holy Scriptures*; appears by the whole current of them.

Suppose an *unjust, cruel, bloody act* in a *King*. Was not *David* in that sense *vir sanguinis* in the *perfidious murder of Uriah*, after his *Adultery* with his wife *Bathsheba*: And for my part I see not wherein that of *Ahab* in the *Murder of Naboth* doth exceed it, both unjustly caused a *Subject* to be slain; *Ahab* only out of a desire to his *Vinyard*, but *David* to his wife. Did not *Solomon* *Apostatize* when to please his wives and concubines (whom he married out of the Nations whereof God had given him a charge to the contrary) he *tollered* the worshipping of *Idols*, in building houses for each of them, and *went after them* also himself. *Asa* oppressed the people, cast the Prophet into prison that came with a message of God unto him.

2 Chron. 16.

Yet we never read that God gave any *Commission* to the *People*, either for these or any other (farre more degenerating) any liberty to disturb them in their Regall government: For *David*, God punished him in his son *Absolon*. *Solomon* was disturbed by *Hadad* the Edomite, and *Rezon* a Servant of *Hadadazer King of Zobah*. Against *Asa* God sent some *foreign Kings*; Against *Ahaz* came the Kings of *Afsiria*: *Hezekiah's* pride was punished by *Sennacherib*, *Manasses* Idolatry & bloodshed by the *Babylonians*, *Ahab* slain at *Ramoth Gilcad* by

1 Chron. 16.

1 Chron. 18.

2 Chron. 12.

2ap 33.

by the *King of Syriah* : but for the *People*, either some or the whole, ye find not an instance where power was given them, to the offering any violence to them.

Who was ever worse and more obstinate then *Ahab* to all *Rapine*, *Murder* and *Idolotry*, who gave himself to work wickedness; but were ever the *People* exhorted by any *Prophet* to withdraw their obedience from him, or gather head against him? For his *posterity* God indeed extraordinarily gives a special Commission by *Elisha* to *Joah* to destroy it, but ye do not find the people of themselves here, or elsewhere so much as attempting it, or encouraged by the *Prophets* persecuted by them so to do; which if it had been in their power, we should have found some president or other for it.

What was the cause *David* was so carefull that his *hand* might not be upon *Saul*, though doubtless he had the *hearts* of the *better*, if not the *greatest* part of the people, and sometimes *Saul* was, as from God himself given up into his hands : And he was not altogether a *private Subject*; but was *heir* of the *Crown* after him, being already *annointed* to it, and none could have a better pretence : *Saul* was now seeking his life, and injuriously persecuting him by *force* and *fraud*, yet he would not *lay his hands upon him*; what can be imagined to be the Cause, but that it was against the *doctrine* then received.

Who knows not, that *Saul* was become an absolute *Tyrant* (which some think to be the sense of 1 *Sam.* 13. *Saul reigned two yeers, &c.* i. e. *Quasi biennium tantum ut Rex reliquum temporis ut Tyrannus.*) rejected by *Samuel* : The Kingdome rent from him given to *David*, yet ye never read of *Samuel* moving *David* to get possession.

session by force of Armes; he mourned for *Saul*, but never stirred up any disturbance in the Kingdome against him, but patiently expected Gods determination.

(o) Lib. 2. ad-
verf. Parmen.
David. inimi-
cum habebat in
manibus incau-
tum & securum
adversarium,
fine labore potu-
it jugulare, &
fine sanguine
multorum bellis
mutare in ce-
dem, p. 171 ejus
& oportuitas
suadebant ad
victoriam, &c.
sed oblabat
plena divinitus
memoria ma-
datorum: re-
preffit cum gla-
dio manum, &
dum timuit ole-
um servavit in-
imicum, &c.
& cum comple-
ret observanti-
am, vindicavit
occisum.

(o) *Opratus* elegantly enlargeth himself thus upon it, David had *Saul* his enemy in his hands, might have securely slaine him, without the blood of any others, his servants and the opportunity moved him to it, but the full remembrance of Gods commands to the contrary with-held him, he drew back his hand and sword, and whilest he revered the oymment he spared his enemy, and when he had compleated his loyalty, revenged his death (i. e.) in the Amalekite.)

We doe not say men are bound to doe whatever the Prince shall command against the *Law of God and Nature*, but yet neither doe we say, we may by force take up Armes against him: he said well *Scutum dandum est subditis, non gladius*: The three children refused to obey the command of *Nebuchadnezzar* in worshipping his golden Image; and *Daniel* *Darius* his E-dict in praying for thirty dayes to none but to him, (as a new erected *Numen*) but yet they resisted not when they were questioned and call'd to suffer for it. *Elias* withdrew himself from *Jezebell* and *Ahabs* bloody tury, yet ye doe not read him tampering with those many thousands hid in *Samaria*, by any secret Machinations against him, but were all patiently passive, and committed themselves to God that judgeth righteously: When *Peter* drew his Sword against the present power, though under the best defensive pretence, yet was bid to put it up, with a check as if it had been upon a private quarrell, *qui accipit gladium gladio peribit*. *Rossius* a Romanist hath indeed published a Book, *De justa Republica*

Reipublica in Principem hareticum potestate, not blushing to (2) *averte* the contrary to what we have asserted, viz. (*) *Cap. 9. Judaei, sepe contra proprias Reges, etiam a Davidica stirpe, approbante Deo insurrexisse leguntur.* That the Israelites did often make * *insurrections against their Kings, even of the stock of David, and with Gods approbation*, but instanceth in none to any purpose.

'Tis true (as he saith) *Atheliah* was deposed, but 'twas from her usurpation. *Hzekiah* shook off the yolk of the King of *Assyria*, to the service of whom he had no just obligation. The *Judges* before *Samuels* time did the like in delivering themselves and the *Israelites* from their several servitudes. *Absolon* was suppressed by the same way of Force, he had most perfidiously and wickedly attempted his Fathers *Crown*, but what are these instances to a *lawful Prince*, or to such as are Subjects. Some I find thus endeavoring to evade the *Text*, by distinguishing between the *Power* and the *Person*; as if this and the like were to be understood, only *de potestate in abstracto*. But certainly *St. Peter* applies it 1 Pet. 2. 13. clearly in *concreto*, to the *Person* of the King: *Regi quasi precellenti & Magistratibus ab eo missis*, as in the next, *Fear God, honor the King*. 1 Sam. 24. 6. Neither can that Speech of *Dauids* be otherwise meant then of the *Person* of *Saul*. *God forbid that I should do this thing unto my Master the Lords annointed, to stretch forth my hand against him seeing he is the annointed of the Lord*; 'Tis not the *Power* that is annointed; but the *Person* who by it is designed to the *Power*.

Again 'tis very probable, that *St. Paul* writing to the *Romans*, in this expression here of *Powers*, conformed himself to their *Stile*. Who as *Berclains* observes Lib. 3. cap. 10. out of *Pliny*, *Suetonius* and *Tertullian*, do very frequently take, the *Abstract*, for the *Concrete*, i. e. the *Power* for the *Person* armed with it.

F There

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There is another argumentation still in the mouths of many, viz. *That Princes receive their power from the people, and so may be abridged accordingly by them.*

(b) Avent.
lib. 3. Annal.
*Regem cum
pietis constituit,
eundem & de-
stituit posse.*
Princeps populi
cujus beneficio
possit, obnox-
ius est.

(c) De potestate
Eccles. q. 22.
Art. 3.
Imperatorem a
Papa posse
deponi quis ibi
distinguas, ejus e-
nim est depone-
re, cujus est con-
stituer.

(d) Trithem.
lib. 1. compend.
Annal. de orig.
Reg. & Gent.
Franc.

(e) Platina in
Steph. 6. Prin-
ceps qui alias
fuit Christianis-
simus deum ti-
mens, Ecclesi-
asticis sancti-
bus devotissime
parens in Elee-
mosynis largus
orationibus in-
desinenter deditus &c. Et tamen cum his tot, & tantis virtutibus non effugit Carolus notam
Tyranni & depositus fuit a subditis.

But first let such know from whence they had this, even from the *Jesuites*, or the like (for many other Authors of the Church of *Rome* are against it.) *Alphonsus de Castro* (de potestate Leg. Pan. lib. 1.) and *Vasques* (lib. 1. controvers. cap. 47.) averre it, and call all power *Tyrannical*, that comes not by the people. It was that which *Pope Zachariah* suggested to the French for deposing of *Childerick* their King. (b) *That the people who constituted him, may as well depose him; the Prince is obnoxious to the people, by whom he possesseth that Honor.* Unto which agrees that of (c) *Augustinus Triumphus de Anchona*, (who by the Sea of *Rome* hath the Title of *Beatus* given him.) *That the Pope may depose the Emperor who can deny it, for he that constitutes can depose*, whose practice in story hath been accordingly, *Henry the Fourth the Emperor*, and (d) *Childerick the Third, the French King*, were by *Pope Gregory the Seventh*, the latter of which was deposed, as the Historian saith, *non pro suis iniquitatibus, sed quod inutilis esset tanta potestati*, as (e) *Carolus Crassus*, the Germans and *Italians* withdrew their obedience from him, by the *Papal approbation*, only obsequitiam corporis ingenique traditam, though otherwise a most pious, devout and vertuous Prince, according to which is the Argument and Application of (f) *Bellarmino*, *Constituens est prius constituto; subditi vero constituunt Reges: Principes sunt propter populum, ergo populus est nobilior.*

(f) In Recognit. lib. 3. q. de laicis.

But

But secondly tis of no force in it self. The *Pastor* is for the good of the *Flock*. The *master* of the family is for the welfare of it: *forma est propter actionem*, is therefore *actio nobilior formâ*? Again, a *servant* voluntarily binds himself to a *Master*, and after a manner *constitutes* him over him, What? can he at pleasure withdraw himself again.

Again, these men consider not of the *Oath of God* taken of *Subjects* to their King, which *Solomon* mentions, *Eccles. 8, 2. I counsel thee to keep the Kings commandments, and that because of the Oath of God.*

They have likewise but little esteem of St. *Pauls* Judgement in the Text, viz. *that the powers are of God, and ordained of God; That they bear the sword of the Lord, and are his ministers.* And indeed few Kings have originally come to their Crowns by the people, but most frequently as one observes, *invitis subditis, Belli jure (si hoc jus sit dicendum) prima regnandi secisse fundamenta*: but after an Oath of Allegiance the bonds are deposited in Gods hand; so that the whole argumentation is both *unchristian* and *irrational*, and rejected by us as the Doctrine of *some Romanists*, which such as are so afraid to come neer them in any thing else, should be as much deterred in this.

In a word, as Kings receive their power from God: so are we to leave them only unto God, if they shall abuse it, not but that they may and ought to be prudently and humbly reminded of their duties (for which we have the example of the *Primitive Fathers & Bishops* to the *Emperors, Constantius, Constans*, and others, introducing *Arianism*) but yet without lifting up our hands against them in the least resistance of them, which is the

(g) De Trans-
lat. imp. lib. 1.
c. 2.

Omnes injurias
a Magistrata po-
tius ferunt bo-
ni, quam atro-
cissimus, quàm
ut in eum in-
vehunt, sermoni,
scripto, opere,
ad orationis &
pacis publicæ per-
turbationem.

(h) potius re-
linquendi sunt
mali regnantes
judicio dei quàm
polluenda ma-
nus per rebellio-
nem: non ca-
ret Deus modis
quibus possit,
quando volue-
rit hujusmodi
malos principes
tollere, vel e-
mendare: Ma-
lum si sit impa-
rium nō est
quod male obe-
diendo ulcisci
debeamus, cui
peccatum Regis
peccatum nostrum
pariter, sed poti-
us patienter se-
rendo iram Dei
exmolliere, qui
corda Regum
suā gubernat.
manu, &c. lib.
26. de repub.
c. 5.

(i) Heb. 10. 31.

Judgement also of most of our *Modern Orthodox Di-*
viners. and even divers of the *Writers of the Church*
of Rome, who have stiffly contradicted the *Jesuites* as-
sertions of the contrary, one of each shall suf-
fice.

1. For those of ours, (g) *Franciscus Junius* thus
determines: All good men should bear even the most cru-
el injury from the magistrate, rather then enveigh a-
gainst him by word, pen, or action, to the disturbance of
order and the publick peace, according to which see *Lu-*
ther (lib. de offic. magistr. Tom. 2.) *Brentius* (*Hom.* 27.
in cap. 8. lib. 1. Sam.) *Melancthon*, *Bucer*, *Musculus*, *Ma-*
thæsius Erasmus, and others.

2. For those of the Church of Rome (h) *Gregorius*
Tholosanus: Governours (saith he) are rather to be left
to the Judgement of God then to defile our hands by a
Rebellion against them. God wants not means where by
he can (when he pleaseth) remove or amend them. If
there be an evil Government, farre be it from us to re-
venge it by an evil obedience, or to punish the sins of the
King by our own sins, but rather by a patient bearing, to
mollify the wrath of God, who governs the hearts of Kings
with his own hands, &c.

And surely if it bea (h) terrible thing for any man
to fall into the hands of the living God, much more
is it to them, who are only accomptable to him, and
the Justice of God hath been often notoriously mani-
fested upon them, in sacred story. *Abimelec*, *Ferobō-*
am, *Baasa*, *Ahab*, both the *Herods*. In Ecclesiasticall
story. *Anastasius*, *Julian*, *Valens*, and others. So much
for holy writ.

Now secondly let me demonstrate this out of the

ancient

antient Fathers, and practise of the Primitive Church in these three things.

1. After the example of *Jeremiah* and *Daniel* for *Nebuchadrezzar*, and *St. Paul* for *Nero*. 1 *Tim.* 2. We find the antient Fathers praying for the Emperors (though of a different Religion, and persecutors of the true) Now to be at the same time praying for them and conspiring in any combinations against their government, are inconsistent.

(i) *Tertullian* who lived under *Severus* the Emperor, saith this in the name of the Christians, we pray daily for the health of the Emperors, &c. That of *Marcus Aurelius* distress in his expedition into Germany, when by the prayers of the Christian Legion (as it was acknowledged by the heathen) Rain was obtained in a great Drought, and consequently a victory is sufficiently known: They called not for fire from heaven to consume him and his Army, according to that advice of *Sanders* the Jesuit, in the like case (*lib. 2. cap. 4. de visib. Monarch.*) but for water to refresh both.

The Letters of the Fathers *Synodi Ariminensis* written to *Constantius* an *Arrian* are observable, who asking him leave to return to their severall Diocesses, give this for their reason, (*) That we may diligently pray for thy health, Empire, and peace, which the mercifull God everlastingly bestow upon thee.

And in their second Letters, asking the same request of him: they say thus: * Again most glorious Emperor,

Rursum: e. Gloriosissime Imperator obsecramus ut ante hyemis asperitatem jubeas nos ad Ecclesiam nostram redire, ut omnipotenti D. o. pro statu potentia tua una cum populo, quem modum ferimus. O. acimus magno studio supplicare possimus.

(i) *Lib. ad capul.*
Nos pro salute Imperatorum Deum invocamus, &c.

* *Sorum lib. 4. cap. 17. ut obremus sedulo pro tua salute Imperio & pace quam Deus tibi sempiternam benignus largiatur.*

* *Theodor. lib. 2. cap. 20.*

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we beseech thee that before the sharpness of the Winter, thou wouldst command our return to our Churches, that we may, as we have done and doe earnestly pray unto the Almighty God for the state of thy might with thy people.

How are they then to be abhorred who to a Christian, pious, Orthodox King stained neither with Vice nor Heresie, temperate, meek, prudent, gracious, instead of prayers have returned menaces, for a dutifull subjection, Arrogant language, if he yield not to every particular of their peremptory demands,

2. You shall not find the *antient Fathers* either by word or writing giving the least offence to the Emperors, though Hereticks. St. Hillary wrote two books against Constantius the Arrian, yet stiles him *Gloriosissimum, Beatissimum*; nay *Sanctum* i. e. *Ratione Imperii, Non Religionis &c.*

(k) *Orat.* 8 18.
22. 24. 25. 27.

(k) Nazianzen is found of the like temper in his Orations against Valens and Valentinian, which are written throughout with all the Reverence and subjection that can be expected from a Subject to a Prince; and yet Valens burnt fourscore Orthodox Bishops and Presbyters together in a ship, and did other horrid Acts, which (l) Socrates tells us.

(l) *Socrat. lib.*
4. cap. 13.

Oh the distance between the spirits of some men now adayes and those of the *antient Church*, even as far those excelled these, in sanctimony of life, integrity of Conversation, piety and truth of Doctrine.

3. You shall ever find them *exemplary* in their obedience and subjection to the Emperors, never stirring up the people to the least resistance or mutiny, but appeasing them.

Excel-

Excellently is that of St. *Augustine* (m) of the Christians under *Julian*; *An Infidel Emperor, a wicked Apostate. The Faithfull souldiers served a faithless Emperor*; when it came to the Cause of *Christ*, then they acknowledged no other then him that sits in heaven; but in *Military* affairs, when he said unto them, bring forth your forces into the field, goe against such a Nation, presently they obeyed, they distinguished the Lord who is eternal from him that is only temporall, and yet were subject to the temporall Lord for his sake who is eternal.

(n) *Tertullian* affirms it as a high honour to Christianity, that they could never find a Christian in any seditious conspiracy: *We are* (saith he) *defamed in relation to his Imperiall Majesty, but yet they could never find any of us among the Albiniani, Nigriani, or Cassiani* (who had been some seditious parties against the Emperor.

That (o) of St. *Ambrose* was both becoming a good Bishop and a Loyall Subject, when he was commanded (by the means of *Fustina* the Empress, who was an *Arrian*) to deliver up the Churches of *Mil-lain* to the use of the *Arrians*, returned this answer to his people, and to the Emperor; *Willingly I shall never do it, but if compel'd I have not learned to fight, I can weep, my Tears are my Arms, I neither can nor ought to resist otherwise.* Indeed by the desire of the *Orthodox* party he refused to give up the chief Church or his *Cathedral* to them, but the detaining of it was with all possible humble representation by way of *Petition* for it, with all the solicitous care that might be, of preventing the least misinterpretation of *contumacie*,

and

(m) in psalm.
124. Iulianus,
infidelis impe-
rator, Apostata
inquit, milites
fideles serve-
runt impe-
ratori
infideli quando
dicebat, produ-
cite aciem ite
contra illam
gentem, statim
obtemperabant,
distinguebant
Dominum eter-
num a Domino
temporali, &
tamen subditi
erant propter
Dominum eter-
num, etiam Do-
mino temporali.

(n) Ad Scapul.
Circum Majesta-
tem imperatoris in-
famamus tamen
nunquam inter
Albinos, Ni-
grianos, vel Cas-
sianos nos in-
venire poterunt.

(o) In orat. de
Basilica contra-
dixit. Volens
nunquam dese-
ram causam re-
pugnare non no-
vi. Flet potius,
lacryma mea
mea arma sunt,
aliter nec debui,
nec possum resi-
stere.

and the people went into it *with him*, and there continued night and day, in *fasting and prayer*, that God would move the Emperor, not to disturb them (which as some observe (to prevent a weariness in it) occasioned the use of *Anthemes* in these *Western* parts, though long before in the *East*) he offered all his (p) *own proper goods* to the pleasure of the Emperor: *Were it my Land, I should not gain-say it, doth the Emperor require my Body, I shall meet him, would he have me to prison, put me to death, I am pleas'd with it, I shall not enclose my self with a guard of the multitude of the people, nor will I take hold of the Altar to ask my life, but I shall freely be sacrificed for the Altars, (or the Service of God.)*

Thus saith another Father many hundreds of years after him. (q) *We will fight for our Mother the Church, but with what arms, not with Swords and Shields, but with Prayers and Tears, to God.*

Athanasius was four or five times banished by several Emperors, but in each he quietly yielded, (r) *as conceiving it more consonant to the Religion professed by him, to overcome that injury by a patient suffering*, then to have made his defence by an *unwarranted seditious opposition* by the people, and therefore in his *Apology* ye shall not find a word tending that way, but on the contrary, upon any *Tumult* of them (whose *zeale* to him might possibly have carried them beyond their *Limits*) he ever exhorts them to be quiet, and to retire to their homes, telling them that for those of his *order*, no ways was allowed them in their defence, but *preces, fuga, & humiles supplicationes*. i. e. *Prayers to God, petitioning the Emperor, or a flight, and for Petitions to the Emperor, ye have*

(p) *Quod meum est. i. e. fundum meum, non refragaver, si corpus petis occurrere, vultis in unguicula rapere vultis in mortem voluptati est mihi non ego me vallabo circumfusione populorum, nec altaria tenbo vitam obsecrans sed pro altari-bus gratis immolabor. ibid.*

(q) *Bern Ep. 221. ad Ludon Reg. pro matre nostra Ecclesia Propugnabimus sed quibus armis non secutis, non gladiis sed precibus flagitibus; ad deum.*

(r) *Religioni quam professus es, putavit magis consentaneum patientiam quam injus-titiam. Injustitiam imperatoris superare. Apol.*

have the example of *Ebedmelech* for *Jeremiah* to the King of *Israel*; *Esther* for her Nation to *Ahasuerus*; *Jonathan* for *David* to *Saul*; In Ecclesiastical story *Plinius Secundus* for the Christians (in the Province of *Bythinia*) to *Trajan*. And as each of these in some measure prevailed, so can they be hardly rejected by any person who is not wholly a stranger both to piety and humanity.

For a *flight*, when petitions will not prevail, the same *Athanasius* (in his Apologie for his from the *Arrians*) produceth a great Catalogue of Examples, *Jacob* from *Esau*, *Moses* from *Pharaoh*, *David* from *Saul*, *Eliac* from *Jezebel*, *St. Paul* from the Conspirators against him at *Damascus*, *Acts 9*. Nay, the Example of our blessed Saviour in his flight from *Herod* into *Egypt* in his Infancy, afterwards from the fury of the *Jews* and *Pharisees*, and the other *Herod*, till his time was come, according to which is his command to his Disciples, *Mat. 10*. When ye are persecuted in one City flye to another; but no warrant or example from him or his for a resistance, or in the Primitive times succeeding for many hundred years, as (a) *Sigebert* tells us, that *Doctrine*, or *Heresie* rather, was a novelty in the world till the year 1088, after *Christ*.

(a) Hac sola novitate dicam heresi, nec dum in mundo emenserat: Sigeb. Chronol. Ann. 1088.

There is this one *Evasion* pretended against these *Object*. *Quotations* of the *Fathers*, which must be answered (*viz.*) that this their patience then, was to be attributed rather to their (b) necessity then virtue, their number and strength being so small, that they could not help it, and so were compelled to yield. This indeed is the very objection of the *Jesuites*, *Belarmine* against *Barclay* saith the same, *facultatibus non fuerint praediti satis idoneis*,

Necessitati magis quam virtuti & voluntati sanctorum Patrum, &c.

(b) Julianus
Tyrannide sua vi-
res omnes pre-
cidit quibus
aliis iis contra
Apostatam ui-
sas fuisset.

(c) Lib. 6 de
regu. c. 26. &
de potest. Papæ.
(d) In Apol.
Bel. a n. 249.
usq; ad n. 267.

neis, i. e. they wanted sufficient forces to resist, and would have that of *Naxianzen, Lachrymas solas superesse Christianis contra Juliani persecutiones, Gre. (i. e.* That Tears was all the Christians had to defend themselves against the persecutions of *Julian*) thus to be understood, as (b) if *Julian* had by his tyranny cut off all their forces, which else it had been lawfull for them to have made use of against the *Apostate*, against whom in that, many of the Church of *Rome* have written, *Gregorius Tholosanus, (c) Berclianus* (whom we named before) (d) *Widringtonus*. This is the objection of *Belarmine*.

Answer.

(c) Fere omnes
mortales tunc
deorum cultu
reliato, Chisti-
anorum genti.
Eccl. Euf. b. 1 b.
9. c. 9.

But the *Contrary* is evident, that the *number* and *strength* of the *Christians* was then very great, not only to have resisted, but *overthrown*, and even shaken the foundations of the *Empire*. They were as the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, stronger then their enemies. See what *Eusebius* saith, that when *Constantine* the first professed to be a *Christian*, who succeeded *Dioclesian*, that had made such havock of them) the (c) *whole world rose with him, and forsaking their Idols, joynd themselves unto him.*

(f) Apo.
Exterius sumus,
& vestra omnia
imp'evimus, ju-
bes insulas, ca-
stella, municipi-
pia, concubabi-
la, castra ipsa,
decavimus, pila-
ria, forum, Se-
natum: cui bel-
lo non idonei
non prompti fuisset, qui tam libenter iracidamus, si non a quod disciplinam nostram magis
occidi liceret quam occidere.

(f) *Tertullian* who lived an hundred years before him, sets forth thus the *number* of the *Christians* in his time. *We fill the whole Empire, your Cities, Castles, Corporations, Counsels, your very Camps, Courts of Justice, Palaces, Market-places, your Senate, with whom are not we able to make a warre, who so willingly offer our selves to the slaughter, but that our Religion teacheth us, that 'tis better to be killed then to kill in such cases.*

It was so in St. *Ambrose* his time, the Army and people were (at least the major part of them) at his beck. I (saith he) upon all occasions am still desired, *ut compecerem populum, ego Tyrannus appeller & plus quam Tyrannus*. The Emperor often tells his Courtiers, he must doe what *Ambrose* will have him, the whole implying the great number of the Orthodox Christians then, and yet alwayes submitted to the Government.

Now no man can conceive that in this the Christians wanted courage. That passage (g) which *Theodoret* tells us of sufficiently satisfies, *viz.* that when many of the Souldiers had been deluded by *Fulians impostures* to have offered some incense to the Idols, they ran to and fro the Cities, offered not only their hands, but their bodies to the fire, that being polluted by fire, they might be purged by the fire.

Can any in reason think that they who were so fearless of death in the profession of what they were taught by the *Fathers*, if they had been also by the same teachers assured what a merit it had been to have sought for them, and themselves against the *Emperor* and his *Edicts* made for their destruction, can we think them so senseless and heartless as not to have appeared accordingly? No, it was only the fear of God, and this *Text* with-held them, as *Tertullian* hath it; *Reprimabant manus quia non ignorabant quod legissent, qui resistit potestati Dei, ordinationi resistit, &c.*

There was then no such *Jesuiticall* doctrine known (contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England) that men may in the like cases take up Arms in Rebellion against their lawfull Princes. And surely if not in case of *Heresie*, i. e. if the Prince shall exemplo vel pre-

(g) Theod. lib. 3. cap. 17. Cum multi militum qui ex errore thus adoleverunt, imposturis Juliani decepti, perperam discusseres, non tantum manus, sed corpora ad ignem offerrent, ut igne polluti igne repurgarentur.

(h) *Lib. 9. de
Pontifice c. 7.*

cepto compel, or endeavour to draw his Subjects to it (which is the assertion of (h) *Bellarmino*, *fideles heretico non obligari; licite posse veneno aut quacunq[ue] ratione mediocollere, &c.*) surely much less may this be in cases of less consequence, which do not touch upon the foundation, but are only *circumstantials*. The ancient Christians held not these things worthy of blood, but submitted to them after *St. Pauls* example in the like.

And now 'tis high time to apply my self to the consideration of that *horrid Fact* which, as fruit spring from those *deadly seeds* of Doctrine, we lament this day. This was the day when out of pretence of relieving the Mother (as they call the *Common-wealth*) children destroyed the Father, and so at once both. The *Casuits* say, *Si filius patrem in ultionem matris occidat, hac pietas erit scelus*, but for a Son to slay both Parents at once is a *Monster* indeed.

This was the black work of this day, rather to be trembled at the thought of, then uttered, when the most wise, pious, prudent, meek, mercifull King was put to death by perfidious sons of *Belial*, faithless and merciless men: And this not in the dark, but in the face of the Sun, at his own gates, a thing unparalleld in any Story. That which hitherto hath been urged, is from what the ancient Church abhorred even to a *Heretick*, a *Persecutor*, a *Heathen*; how much then is this cruelty and hypocrisy to be loathed when exercised against the life and sovereignty of a *pious, orthodox, just, and Christian Prince*, not only to a dreadfull *Rebellion*, but a *bloody murder*.

All history shews that *Rebellion* hath ever in conclusion been the ruine of the *Authors*; take the word

word *xijua* in the Text, as some render it *pernam*, judicium, i. e.) for some corporal vengeance from God or man here. That known speech of

(i) *Radolphus* to those that were about him when he was nigh unto death after his taking up arms against his Master the Emperor, is worthy to be remembered: See ye my right hand maimed by a wound, with this I swear to my Lord Henry (the Emperor) that I would doe him no hurt, nor treacherously entrap him in

his dignity, but the Apostolick Command (or that of the Pope) hath enduced me to it, that as a perjured person, I have usurped an honor not due unto me. Ye see in that very hand with which I violated my oath, I have received my mortall wound, let them look to it, who have invited us, to what a condition they have brought us, even to the very hazard of everlasting damnation: according to the Text, *ipsi sibi damnationem acquirunt*.

I shall conclude with that sentence of St. Jude and St. Peter (cap. 2.) upon the like (then which ye have not a more full execration in the whole Bible) These are they that despise dominion, and are so presumptuous, as to speak evil of dignities (i. e. Kings and Princes,) Wo unto them for they have gone in the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the error of Baalam, and perished in the gain-saying of Core, these are spots in your feasts, clouds without water, trees without fruit, withered, plucked up by the roots, raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame, wandering stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever: Let us all say

Amen.

(i) Helmold. Histor. Sclau. cap. 18, 19, 30. lib. 1. Spectate manum meam dextram de iuramento sanctam, hec ego iuravi Domino Henrico, ut non nocerem ei, nec infideli ei gloria ejus, sed jussio Apostolica transgressum mandatum me ad id deduxit, ut juramenti transgressor haberem mihi indebitam satisfactionem: Videtis quod in manu mea iura mentis violavi iurata hec iuramentum accepi. Viderint ii qui nos ad hoc instigaverunt, quod nos duxerunt in errorem deducti sumus in precipitium aeternae damnationis

) Praef. Apol.

proph. am
imperium senarum
Apol.

Amed to that which fell from a Royal pen, King James
of ever happy memory, *in his maledictus qui maledixit*
unbto Domini, pereatque interitu Core, qui peccavit in
contradictione Core: Let him be accursed that shall
curse the Lords annointed, and let him perish with the
perishing of *Corah* who hath sinned in the gain-saying
of *Korah*: And let us earnestly pray for the safety of
the Kings Majesty according to that of the Christians
for the Emperour in *Tertullian*. *Det Deus illi vitam, ex-*
ercitus fortes. Senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem
quietum, i. e. God give him a long life, a secure Empire,
a safe house, valiant forces, a faithfull Councell, loyall
people, and a quiet State, &c. even for his sake who is
King of Kings and Lord of Lords, to whom with the Fa-
ther and holy Spirit be all honor and glory now and for ever
Amen.

The



The late Lord *Primate* *Usher's*
Judgment and Practice in point
of *Loyalty, Episcopacy, Liturgy, and*
Ecclesiasticall Constitutions of the
Church of *England.*

THe various *interpretations* which have been made of the Judgement and Practice of this most Eminent Prelate in these particulars and the *mis-applications* thereupon spread, by some of *different* Judgments, to his great prejudice, hath occasioned this brief *vindication* of him, by declaring my own knowledge therein, as followeth:

I. *His Judgement and Practise in point of Loyalty.*

For his *Judgement*, it hath been most fully manifested by a most learned Treatise, lately published of the Power of the *Duties* and *Obedience* of the *Subject*: the writing of which was thus occasioned. About the beginning of those unhappy *Comotions* in *Scotland, 1639.* Sir *George Radcliffe* desired me very earnestly to let him know, what the *Lord Primas's* Judgment was of them, and not being contented with my *verball* assurance of it, desired to have it more punctually under my *hand*, which I had no sooner communicated to the *Lord Primate*, but he readily and instantly *dictated* unto me his *sentence* upon them, which was accordingly returned,

Occasion of
writing that
Book of the
Power of the
Princes, &c.

returned, & for which I had a letter of very great thanks.

Now as soon as the *Primate* came to *Dublin* the *Earl of Strafford*, (then Lord Deputy of Ireland) desired him to declare his Judgment *publicly* concerning those Commotions, which he forthwith did at *Christ-Church Dublin*, before the State in two Sermons, to all mens satisfactions, from this Text *Eccles. 7. 2. I counsel thee to keep the Kings commandment, and that because of the Oath of God.* After this, the Lord Deputy (besides his own desire) signified unto him that it would be acceptable to his late Majesty (of ever blessed memory) that he should either print his Sermons, or write a *Treatise* of the like Subject, the latter of which he made choice of: And having with much labour and industry finished it, and caused it to be fairly transcribed, he came over with it into *England* with an intention to commit it to the Presse, as hath been declared by the learned and Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of *Lincoln* in his Preface to that Treatise.

To which give me leave to add: That his Judgment was alwayes the same and so declared by him upon all occasions, since I had the happynesse to be known to him: As annually upon the Kings Inauguration day (which was constantly observed by him at *Drogheda* with great Solemnity:) and occasionally in some learned Sermons preacht by him at the opening of two Parliaments. And especially upon the first solemnity for his present Majesties Birth-day, anno 1630. at *Dublin*, being sent for of purpose by the State then to preach, which he did upon this Text, *Psalms 45. 26. Instead of thy Fathers shall be thy children, whom thou mayest make Princes in all the Earth.*

But

Practice in point of Loyalty, &c.

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But most fully in those two Speeches of his herewith revived. *The one* whereof he made while he was Bishop of Meath, Anno 1622. in the Castle-Chamber of Dublin, in defence of the Oath of Supremacy, and in special making good that Clause that the King is the only Supreme Governor of these his Realms and Dominions. For which King James (of happy Memory) sent him a Letter of Thanks hereunto annexed, the original of which I have now in my custody.

His Speech of the Oath of Supremacy.

The other he made Anno 27. before the Lord Deputy Falkland, the Council, and a great Assembly of the Lords, and other persons chosen out of each County at His Majesties Castle of Dublin, occasioned by their slowness to contribute to the maintenance of the Army, the main scope of which, is to declare the Duty of Subjects to supply the Kings necessities for the defence of his Kingdom, from strength of Reason, antient Records, and Grounds of Divinity, a Copy of which being by the Lord Deputy then desired of him to be sent unto His late Majesty, (for which he received His Royal Thanks) I took a transcript thereof;

His Speech of supplying the Kings Necessities.

Unto which I shall only add this, That I have found among the Primat's papers a Manuscript, containing Mr. Hookers judgment of these three things,

Mr. Hookers judgment of Regal Power confirmed by the Primat.

- 2^d infra. 1. Of Regal Power in Ecclesiastical Affairs.
 pag 65. 2. Of the Kings Power in the advancement of Bishops unto the rooms of Prelacy. p. 4. 77. infra.
 3. Of the Kings exemption from censures and other judicial Power. pag. 92.

All which (as the Primat notes with his own hand) are not found in the common Copy of Mr. Hookers M.S. (though by what art, and upon what designe so much

H

was

was expunged I know not) only thus far the *Primate* hath joyn'd his Testimony with Mr. *Hooker* in these (which seem to be the true) that he hath *corrected* and *perfected* the copy throughout with his *own hand*, and not only found out the several *quotations*, and put them down in the *Margent*, which had been before omitted, but added many of his *own*, with some other large Annotations, by which his *zeal* for the defence of *Regal Power* is the more evident. And what his freedom of speech was frequently here in his *Sermons* to that purpose, and in speciall before his late Majesty (of blessed memory) upon his *Birth-day* at the *Isle of Wight* upon this Text, *Genes. 49. 3. Reuben, thou art my first-born, my might, and the beginning of my strength, the excellency of dignity and the excellency of power*, I suppose is sufficiently known. This for his *Judgement*.

His sufferings
for it.

Secondly, his Practice hath appeared by what his *sufferings* have been upon that account, as his forced *flight* from *London* to *Oxford*: His ruff usage in *Wales* or thereabouts, by the Army then in the field against the King, to the loss of some of his Books and Principall *Manuscripts* never recovered: The taking that away from him which had been given him by the King for his maintenance, and at length being necessitated to return to *London*, he was *silenced* a long time from preaching, unless in a private house; and when with much adoe he was permitted to preach at *Lincolns Inne*, it was that Honorable Society which gave him a competent maintenance; but upon the failing of his eye-sight, being compelled to give it up, his small subsistence after that (besides the continuance of the *Countess of Peterboroughs* respects to him in her house) came (with much diffi-

Practice in point of Loyalty.

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difficulty) through my hands unto him.

And as his *Prayers* (which were all the Arms he had) were daily lifted up (like *Moses* hands) for the prosperity of his Majesties affairs, notwithstanding the hazzard he ran by it, like that of *Daniels*, by a prohibition to the contrary : So was his joy or sorrow perpetually shown according to the success of them, I shall instance in one particular.

His Prayers, joy, and sorrow according to the success of his Majesties affairs.

Anno 1649. (till when, the *Book of Common Prayer* was in my Charge of *Drogheda*, to his great content, continued, notwithstanding many Lords of the Parliament forces interchangeably had dominion over us) the now Lord *Duke of Ormond* then appearing with an Army for the King, and taking the Town, with that part of his forces under the command of the Earl of *Inchiquin*, the same day I attended his Lordship in the proclaiming of his Majesty, and immediately went to the Church, and used the *Common Prayer* for his Majesty: And afterwards upon the *Dukes* comming himself thither, we had a *Faſt* for the good success of his Majesties forces (at which I *preached* :) And a *Communion* was appointed the next Sunday, though *Oliver Cromwells* landing with so great a force at *Dublin* interrupted us (the event of which in that bloody storme, and the hazzard of my self for the above-mentioned matters, would be impertinent here to relate) only thus much: I may not omit as to this good Lord *Primate*, That as his *Letters* were full of encouragement, and approbation of me for it; so at my coming over he embraced me with much affection, upon that Accompt, often rejoycing at the constancie of that Town, where himself had resided, and had sown so much of that *Doftrine* of

The Primates Judgment and

Loyalty, which by his Order *four* times a year (according to the Canon) was preached unto them. And with many *Tears* he lamented the retarding of his Majesties affairs, by the loss of so many faithfull Servants of his, slain there in that *Massacre* in cool blood.

In one thing more, the Demonstration of his loyall affection to his Majesty was manifested by his passionate *Commiseration* of those of the distressed sequestred Clergy, who had suffered for him, and by his appearing to his utmost for them (which was more commendable, then by hiding himself, to have take no more care, but to preserve one.

His compassionate affection to such as had suffered for his Majesty.

When that *merciless* Proclamation issued forth against such that they might not so much as *teach a School* for their livelyhood; when my soliciting for them (by his encouragement) *representing* their petitions, and petitioning for them in my own *name* subscribed, only to have had them capable of a *Contribution*, throughout *England* (for which as Feoffees in Trust, *Doctor Bromrige* then the learned Bishop of *Exeter* and my self, were nominated) could not prevail, and an elegant *Apologie* for them written by *Doctor Gauden* the now Reverend Bishop of *Exeter*, which I delivered with my own hand, proved also ineffectuall. Then this eminent *Primas* out of a compassionate sense of their miseries was perswaded by me to make a Tryall how farr his own *personal* presence might prevail in their behalf, and so (much against his own *Gnius* and with great regret within himself, to goe into *Whitthall*, he having no other occasion in the world besides) he went, and I waited on him thither for that end, where he spoke as *freely* and *fully*, as some impertinent interposi-

Practice in point of Episcopacy.

33

positions of discourses would permit him; but to his great grief returned fruitless; and I think he never resented any thing more deeply, not living many moneths after unto which the ungrateful censures and rash extravagant language of such, whom he thus endeavored to serve, added the more to it; which in some hath not been abated to his very *Memory*: Now in regard their ignorance of thus much, might still occasion it, is one cause of my enlargement upon it; but so much in relation to his *Loyalty*, whereof he was an eminent *Pat-terne*.

His Judgment and Practice in point of Episcopacy.

FOR *Episcopacy*, first in his *Judgment*, he was a full as-
 sessor of it, which appears in those Learned Tract-
 ates of the *Original of Bishops*, and that of the *Lydian Asia*, where he doth not only deduce *Episcopacy* from the Apostolique times, but also the *Metropolitans* or Arch-Bishops to have been accordingly, from the super-
 scription of St. *John* to the *Seven Churches*, each of which Cities being *Metropolitans*, and the rest of the *Cities of Asia*, as daughters under them) for the confir-
 mation of which, he hath given such strong probabili-
 ties, that 'twill be hard to gainsay them.

His Judgment.

Secondly, for his *Practice*, I can witness his constant
 exercise of the *Jurisdiction* of it, or his causing it so to
 be exercised throughout his *Dioecesis* and *Province*, while
 those quiet times in *Ireland* did permit it. In all which
 a Learned and Prudent Divine was his Chancellor or
 Vicar-General, and afterwards a Bishop (*Bishop Smeo*)
 one

His Practice.

The Primates Judgment and

one known to have been as much for the Government and Constitutions of the Church of *England*, as any person whatsoever.

The reduction
of Episcopacy.
&c.

As for that of his *Reduction of Episcopacy to the form of Synodical Government &c.* presented to his late Majesty of Blessed Memory, *Anno 1641*. It is to be considered, how it was occasioned by the present Tempestuous Violence of the Times, as an *accommodation* by way of Prevention of a totall Shipwrack threatned by the Adversaries of it, as appears sufficiently by the Title before it, *viz. Proposed in the year 1641. as an expedient for the prevention of those troubles which afterwards did arise in matter of Church-Government, &c.* Now what can this, in the sense of any prudent unbiassed person prejudice him in his Judgment or Affection to *Episcopacy* it self, which rather confirms it.

The occasion
and end of it.

The *Marchant* parts with that in a *Storme*, that he would not have done in a *Calme*, and at shore recruits himself with the like goods again. *St. Paul* in that *Wracke*, *Acts 27*. consented not only to the lightning of the Ship of the lading, but of the Tackling also, *We cast them out* (saith he, or *St. Luke*) *with our own hands*, and all for the saving (if it were possible) of the Ship, and the Passengers in it. That of the same *Apostle* in another case, *I think it fit for the present necessity*, might in some measure in this particular be the *Primates Application*, wherein he was not *singular* neither.

Unto which I can add this further confirmation, that for those many years I had the happines to be known unto him in those serene times, before these troubles arose, to the disturbance of *Episcopacy*, I never heard him mentioning anything by way of alteration that way

way in those *Proposals* there specified, so that the sole occasion and end of them must be as aforesaid.

And for these 4. Propositions, they were only *present* *prudentiall* representations, left to the Judgment and correction of *others*, without any Magisterial Imposition of them, as a *Copy* to be writ after, and as they were not published till an *imperfect* Copy invited unto it, so the real intent of it was by that Conjunction of both parties in *Ecclesiasticall* Government to have the easier way prepared to their *union* in the *civil*, even an *unanimous* endeavour for his *Majesties* happy Restauration (now through Gods great goodness wonderfully accomplished) for which, as none prayed more zealously, so none could have exceeded the *Primates* in the joy for it, had he lived to see it.

For the *form of words* used by the *Bishop* in the ordination of the Church of *England*, he did much approve thereof, viz. *Receive the Holy Ghost, Whose sins thou remittest are remitted, and whose sins thou retainest are retained, and be thou a faithfull dispenser of the Word and Sacraments, &c.* And the delivering of the Bible into the hands of the person ordained; saying, *Take thou authority to preach the word of God, and administer the Sacraments, &c.* Which being *wholly* omitted in that of the *Presbyterian* way, and no other words to that sense used in their room, and thereupon no *express* transmission of ministeriall Power, he was wont to say, that such an *Imposition* of hands (by some called the *Seal* of Ordination) without a Commission annexed, seemed to him to be *as the putting of a seal to a blank*, That the scruple was not only in the *instrumentall* cause, but in the

Ordination of
the Church of
England.

The Primates Judgment and Practice

the *formall* : and that if a *Bishop* had been present, and done no more, the same *query* might have been of the validity of it : And in his letter to me (which hath been published) he hath declared, *the Ordination made by such Presbyters as have severed themselves from their Bishops, unto whom they had sworn Canonically obedience cannot be excused from being Schismaticall.*

Episcopal superiority over Presbyters.

For that of a *gradual* superiority of a *Bishop* above a *Presbyter* which some have been offended at: 1. It is the language of *Archbishop Whigist* in the defence of the *Answer to the Admonition*, Tract. 8. p. 383. *that Episcopatus is commonly used for that Priest that is in degree over and above the rest, &c.* But secondly, howsoever if so that the *gradus* be granted to be of Apostolicall constitution (which is the *Primates* sense) I do not see how it any more takes off from the *Preheminence* and Authority of *Episcopacy*, then the denomination of *Lights*, given in common by *Moses* to all in the *Firmament*, detracts from the *Sun* whom he calls only the *greater*, from whom the rest derive theirs, and is the *Ruler of the day* : Or that of the *first-born* among his brethren, who by his *Primogeniture*, had the *supremacy of Dignity and Power* to whom the rest must bow, and he was to rule over them : The distinction in both is but *gradual*. The *Primate* hath also elsewere derived the form of Church Government under the *New Testament* from the Pattern prescribed by God in the *Old*, and shews how it was from the *Imitation* thereof brought in by the *Apostles*. Now though the *Distinction* of the *Chief*, or *High-Priest*, and the other *inferiour* Priests was but *gradual*, yet there being so great a distance between them, the *Chief-Priest* having

As the Sun to the other Lights.

The dignity and power of the first-born.

As the distance between the High-Priest, and the other inferiour Priests.

ving rule over the rest (called by the 70. *Trinitarian*) there shall not need any further instance to illustrate it.

And whereas there hath been a learned tractate some years ago published, entituled *the form of Church government before and after Christ, as it is expressed in the Old and New Testament*, which then went under the name of *Bishop Andrews*. I found a Manuscript of it among the *Primates Papers*, wherein the *Author* upon a review hath ordered some things to be altered, added, or taken away, and some to be further inquired into, according as the marks make reference unto several Pages of it. This I found accordingly noted by the *Primate* throughout, and some passages which the learned *Author* desired to be farther inquired into, are at large perfected under the *Primates* own hand, and I know no book more full for the *prehemineny* of *Episcopacy*; so that what he did, or was willing to have yielded unto out of a calme temper of *Moderation*, in such times of extremity, to preserve the unity and peace of the Church, then in great hazard to be shattered, ought not in reason so to be stretched, as to inferre it was his *Absolute* desire, or *free choice*, but only upon the *present distress* to keep the Chariot upon its wheels from a Precipice of a total overturning. So much for *Episcopacy*.

His approbation of books tending to the preheminnence of Episcopacy

3. His Judgement and Practice of the Liturgy of the Church of England.

For the Liturgy of the Church of England he was The Liturgy.
a constant Assessor and observer of to the last.

I

At

The Primats Judgement and

The Service
Song.The Ceremo-
nies,

At *Drogheda* in *Ireland* (where I had the happiness for many years to live under him) he had the *Common-Prayer* read twice every day in his *Chappel*, from which nothing but sickness excused his absence. And in the *Church* it was (by his approbation) as duly observed by my self; we had there an *Organ* and a *Quire*; on *Sundays* the Service was sung before him, as is used in *Cathedrals* in *England*. *Anthems* were sung very frequently, and often, instead of a *Psalm*, before Sermon.

He came constantly to the *Church* in his *Episcopal habit*, and preacht in it, and for my self (by his approbation) when I officiated I wore my *Surplice and Hood*; administered the *Communion*, and at such occasions preached in them also. The *Surplice* was accordingly observed constantly by the *Reader*, and some of the *Quire* every Sunday.

And for all other *Administrations* they were fully observed in each *Rite* and *Ceremony* according to the *Rubrick* or *Rule* of the *Book of Common-prayer*, which many years after his leaving of *Ireland*, was (according to his trust committed to me) continued, till my *Church* in that bloody *storm of Drogheda 1649*, was blown up with *Gun-powder*, and for my refusing to obey the command of his *Nephew Colonel Michael Jones*, sent by an *Officer* unto me in writing, to forbear the use of the *Common-prayer*; I had much thanks from the *Primate*, being much displeased at his presumption in it, though thereupon the little means I had remaining there, was by the *Colonels order taken from me*; and in the *storme* of the *Town* he did not forget it, in his designing my *death*, as I was assured by an *Englishman*.

JA

I

And

And indeed while the *Primate* continued in *Drogheda*, I doe not remember there were any *Protestant* Inhabitants there that so much as scrupled at the *Crosse* in Baptism, or kneeling at the Communion, with the like, but in all things conformed and submitted to what they saw was approved by him; and for such as were refractory in the *Northern* parts of *Ireland* (where the *Scotch* had mingled themselves with the *English*) he did his utmost to reclaim them in his *Provincial* Visitation, which I was a witness of, and imployed by his directions among them for that end. Wherein (craving leave for this short digression) I have observed, that such who had so great a prejudice to the *Liturgy*, as to run out of the Church when it was offered to be read out of the *Book*, when I used the very same form in several Administrations by heart, without the *book*, *Baptism*, *Communion*, *Matrimony*, *Burial*, and the like, they have highly commended it, as conceiving they had been my own present conceptions (the younger sort having never heard it, and the other almost forgotten it) which *guile*, both at *Drogheda* (when several *Parliament* Regiments were sent thither successively to suppress it, like the Messengers of *Saul* to destroy *David* at *Ramoth*, they have accordingly *Prophecied* with us) and in other places since my coming over, I have convinced, who at first being purged with the *Book* in the commendation of it, the next time upon the use of it, finding it to be the same, they have confessed their former *delusion*, and have been fully satisfied.

And while the *Primate* was in *Ireland* he continued in *England* to his last, which in the *House* of *Peterborough* house (where he lived and died) I

His seducing
the scrupulous

His confession
of the same

His confession
of the same

The Primates Judgement and

have been often a witness of. And upon a *false rumour* raised of his *remissness* that way, he shewed me, not long before his death, what he then had written to an Eminent person (who had told him of it) signifying his *high approbation and commendation of the said Book of Common-prayer*. And when (after his being destroyed in Ireland) the late King of blessed memory had for his subsistence given him the *Bishoprick of Carlisle in Commendam*. He did at a Visitation of the Diocese) unto which the remoteness of the place did not permit himself to travel) write a Letter unto the Ministers thereof, charging them to *use constantly the Book of Common-prayer, and the publick Catechism* in their several Churches.

The falshood
of some Pam-
phlets put out
in his name
since his death.

Some *Pamphlets*, which of late years have been published in his name, containing (as they pretended) his opinion for the *omission and change* of divers things in it, as I did at their first coming forth protest against them, to be *fictitious papers*, so I doe here confirm it; and what soever he might now have yielded unto for the peace and unity of the Church, that we might all speak the same thing; I can assure it (if he were alive) in these late disputes of it, he would have been for the *Defendants*.

Some particu-
lars observed
by him,

And for some other *particulars* observed by me of him at *Drogheda* may not be impertinent herewith to relate. At the *Credo* he stood up constantly, repeated it with the Minister, alwayes received the *Communion* kneeling; At the publick prayers he knelted also. At his entrance into the *Chancel* he addressed himself with some short prayer unto God for his assistance, nor speaking irreverently with a *bold confident boldness* as the manner
of

of some is) but rather with some *fear and trembling*.

At his entrance into his Seat both in the Church and in his Chappel, he *kneeled down*, with some short Prayer also, and as he always came reverently into the Church and went out of it *uncovered*, so did he continue all the time of *Divine Service*.

And though he had as great an ability as the chief Pretenders to an *extemporary* expression, yet he constantly used a *set form* of Prayer before his Sermon, and that with a decent *brevity*, which in private Families (as most profitable he commended accordingly, and even at their Tables, which was his own practice also, when he did not omit to pray (according to the usuall Form) for the *Kings Majesty and Royal issue*, (now commonly omitted.) In a word, this was his often assertion that as the affecting and imposing of a daily *sudden conception* at Prayer, was a *Novelty* and a *singularity* (not being practised in any other *Reformed Church*) so the immethodical *impertinencies*, and other indiscreet extravagancies both for *measure and matter*, frequently occasioned by it, were of greater scandal to the Church, then that aptitude, habitually attained unto by some, could be of *profit*.

*His Judgement of the Articles of Religion
and practice of the Ecclesiastical Con-
stitutions of the Church of England.*

The *Articles of the Church of England*, as they *was* had long ago subscribed them, so have I often heard him highly commending them. The reception of which

The Articles
of Religion of
England.

The Primates Judgment and

which Articles in the *First Canon of Ireland*, Anno 1634. He drew up himself with his own hand, with an addition of a very severe punishment to such as should refuse to subscribe them, as may appear in it.

The Canons
of Ireland,
1614, taken
out of Q. Eliz.
Injunct and
Can of Engl.

Anno 1614. He was a principal person then appointed for the *collecting* and drawing up such *Canons* as might best concern the Discipline and Government of the Church of Ireland, taken out of *Queen Elizabeths Injunctions* and the *Canons of England*, to be treated upon by the Arch-Bishops and Bishops and Clergy of that Kingdom, some of which I have, which were written then with his own hand, and presented by him;

The two first of them were these,

The Common
Prayer.

1. *That no other Form of Liturgy or Divine Service shall be used in any Church of this Realm, but that which is established by Law, and comprized in the Book of Common-Prayer, and Administration of Sacraments, &c.*

Book of Ordina-
tion.

2. *That no other Form of Ordination, shall be used in this Nation, but which is contain'd in the Book of ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, allowed by Authority, and hitherto practiced in the Churches of England and Ireland, &c.*

His Subscrip-
tion.

And in his *subscription* (in relation to the above mentioned) it is in these words, *viz.* *I do acknowledge the Form of Gods Service prescribed in the book of Common-Prayer, is good and godly, and may lawfully be used, and do promise that I my self will use the Form in the said Book prescribed in celebration of Divine Service, and administration of the Sacraments, and none other. I do also acknowledge, that such as are consecrated and ordered according to the form prescribed in the Book of Ordination, set forth by Authority, have truly received holy Orders, and*
have

Constitutions of the Church of England.

63

have Power given them to exercise all things belonging to that Sacred Function, whereunto they are called &c.

For the now more perfect *Canons* of the Church of Ireland, constituted Anno 1634. in the Convocation there (whereof I was a Member) most of them were taken out of these of England, and he being then *Primate*, had a principal hand in their collection and proposal to the reception of them, the *methodizing* of all which into due order, I have seen, and have it by me written with his own hand throughout: whereby 'tis apparent what his Judgment was in relation to them.

Canons of Ireland. Anno 1634. taken out of those of England.

The *Annual Festivals* of the Church he duly observed, preaching upon their several *Commemorations*: On *Christmas-Day*, *Easter*, *Whitsunday*, he never fail'd of Communion, that excellent Treatise of his Entituled, *The incarnation of the Son of God*, was the substance of two or three Sermons which I heard him preach in a *Christmas* time.

The Festivals.

Good-Friday, he constantly kept very strictly, preaching himself then upon the *Passion* beyond his ordinary time, when we had the publick prayers in their utmost extent also, and without any thought of a superstition, he kept himself *fasting* till the Evening.

Good Friday.

Confirmation of Children was often observed by him, the first time he did it (when a great number were presented to him by me) he made a *Speech* to the *Auditory*, to the satisfaction of all sorts of persons, concerning the *Antiquity* and *good use* of it.

Confirmation of Children.

The publick *Catechism* in the book of Common-Prayer, was enjoyed by him to be only observed in the Church, a part of which for a *quarter* or *half* an hour was constantly explained by me to the people every Sun-

Catechism.]

Sunday before evening Prayer, himself being present, which was also accordingly enjoyed throughout his Diocese,

Apparel of
the Clergy.

He was much for that *decent distinctive habit of the Clergy* (*Cassocks, Gowns, Priests-Clokes, &c.*) according to the *Canon* in that behalf provided, to be used by them in their *walking or riding* abroad, which himself from his younger years always observed. And in *Anno 1634.* that *Canon of England* of the decent *Apparel of Ministers* was by his special approbation, put in among those of *Ireland.*

Consecration
of Churches.

Lastly though in our *Constitutions*, there is no form appointed for the consecration of a Church or Chappel, yet he was so ready to apply himself to what had been accustomed in *England*, that at his consecration of a Chappel not far from *Drogheda* in *Ireland*, he framed no new one of his own, but took that which goes under Bishop *Andrews* name, and used it, (with little variation) which I have in my custody.

And thus I have endeavored by this Declaration of his *Judgment* and *Practice* in these particulars, to give satisfaction to all such, who by their misapprehensions have had their various censures and applications to the great injury of him. I shall only wish that *not only they but all others that hear* this of him, were both almost and altogether such as he was.

Mr.

Mr. HOOKERS *Judgment of Regal* *bid: supra. pg*
Power in matters of Religion, and 49.
the advancement of Bishops (wholly
left out of the common Copies in his
eighth Boock) here confirmed by
the late Lord Primate Usher's
marginal notes, and other Enlarge-
ments with his own hand.



He service which we do unto the true God, [* This is
 who made heaven and earth, is far diffe- wanting in the
 rent from that which *Heathens* have done common books
 unto their supposed Gods, though no of Mr. Hookers
 thing else were respected, but only the M. S.]
 odds between their hope and ours. The office of piety
 or true Religion sincerely performed have the *promises*
both of this life and of the life to come, the practices of
Superstition have neither. If notwithstanding the *Hea-*
thens reckoning upon no other reward for all which
 they did, but only protection and favour in the tem-
 poral estate and condition of this present life, and per-
 ceiving how great good did hereby publickly grow as
 long as fear to displease (they knew not what) Divine
 power was some kind of bridle unto them; did there-
 K fore

The Kings Power

fore provide that the highest degree of care for their Religion should be the principall charge of such, as having otherwise also the greatest and chiefeft power, were by so much the more fit to have custody thereof: Shall the like kind of provision be in us thought blameworthy?

A gross error it is to think that *Regal Power* ought to serve for the good of the *body*, and not of the *soul*: for mens temporal peace, and not their eternal safety; as if God had ordained *Kings* for no other end and purpose, but only to fat up men like hogs, and to see that they have their *Mast*: Indeed to lead men unto salvation by the hand of *secret, invisible, and ghostly* regiment, or by the external administration of things belonging unto Priestly order (such as the Word and Sacraments are) this is denied unto *Christian Kings*: no cause in the world to think them uncapable of supreme authority in the outward government, which disposeth the affairs of Religion, so farre forth as the same are disposible by humane authority, and to think them uncapable thereof only for that, the said religion is everlastingly beneficiall to them that faithfully continue in it. And even as little cause there is, that being admitted thereunto amongst the *Jews*, they should amongst the *Christians* of necessity be delivered from ever exercising any such power, for the dignity and perfection which is in our Religion more then theirs,

1 Cor. 3. 7. 2.

Ad. 2.

It may be a question, Whether the affairs of *Christianity* require more wit, more study, more knowledge of Divine things in him which shall order them, then the *Jewish* Religion did: For although we deny not the forme of external government, together with all other Rites

Rites and *Ceremonies* to have been in more particular manner set down; yet withall it must be considered also, that even this very thing did in some respects make the burthen of their spiritual regiment the harder to be borne, by reason of infinite doubts and difficulties, which the very obscurity and darkness of their Law did breed, and which being not first decided, the Law could not possibly have due execution.

Besides in as much as their Law did also dispose even of all kind of civill affairs, their *Clergy* being the Interpreters of the whole Law, sustained not only the same labour which *Divines* doe amongst us, but even the burthen of our *Lawyers* too: Nevertheless be it granted that more things do now require to be publickly deliberated and resolved upon with exacter judgment in matters divine; then *Kings* for the most part have; their personal inability to judge in such sort as professors do, letteth not but that their Regal authority may have the self same degree or sway which the *Kings of Israel* had in the affairs of their Religion, to rule and command according to the manner of supreme Governours.

As for the sword wherewith God armed his Church *Ad. 3.* of old, if that were a reasonable cause why *Kings* might then have *Dominion*, I see not but that it ministreth still as forcible an argument for the lawfulness and expedience of their continuance therein now. As we degrade and excommunicate, even so did the Church of the Jews, both separate offenders from the Temple, and depose the *Clergie* also from their rooms when cause required. The other sword of corporall punishment is not by *Christs* own appointment in the hand of

The Kings Power

the *Church of Christ*, as *God* did place it himself in the hands of the *Jewish Church*: For why? he knew that they whom he sent abroad to gather a people unto him only by persuasive means were to build up his Church even within the bosome of *Kingdomes*, the chiefeest Governors whereof would be open enemies unto it, every where for the space of many years: Wherefore such Commission for discipline he gave them as they might any where exercise in a quiet and peaceable manner, the Subjects of no Common-wealth being touched in goods or person by virtue of that spirituall regiment whereunto *Christian Religion* embraced did make them subject.

Now when afterwards it came to pass that whole Kingdomes were made *Christian*, I demand whither that authority served before for the furtherance of Religion, may not as effectually serve to the maintenance of *Christian Religion*? *Christian Religion* hath the sword of spiritual Discipline. But doth that suffice? The *Jewish* which had it also, did nevertheless stand in need to be ayded with the power of the Civil sword. The help whereof, although when *Christian Religion* cannot have it, must without it sustain it self as far as the other which it hath will serve, notwithstanding where both may be had: what forbiddeth the *Church* to enjoy the benefit of both? Will any man deny that the *Church* doth need the rod of corporall punishment to keep her children in obedience withall? Such a Law as *Macabeus* made amongst the *Scots*, that he which continued an excommunicate two years together, and reconciled not himself to the *Church*, should forfeit all his goods and possessions.

Again,

Again, the custom which many *Christian Churches* have to fly to the Civil Magistrate for coercion of those that will not otherwise be reformed, these things are proof sufficient, that even in *Christian Religion*, the power wherewith *Ecclesiastical* persons were indued at the first, unable to do of it self so much as when secular power doth strengthen it, and that not by way of Ministry or Service, but of predominancie, such as the *Kings of Israel* in their time exercised over the *Church of God*.

Yea but the *Church of God* was then restrained more narrowly to one people and one king; which now being spread throughout all Kingdoms, it would be a cause of great dissimilitude in the exercise of *Christian Religion*, if every King should be over the Affairs of the *Church*, where he reigneth Supream Ruler.

Dissimilitude in great things, is such a thing which draweth great inconvenience after it, a thing which *Christian Religion* must always carefully prevent. And the way to prevent it is not, as some do imagine, the yielding up of Supream Power over all *Churches* into one only Pastors hands, but the framing of their government, especially for matter of substance, every wher according to one only Law, to stand in no less force then the Law of Nations doth to be received in all Kingdoms; all Sovereigne Rulers to be sworn no otherwise unto it, then some are to maintain the Liberties, Laws, and received Customs of the Country where they reign: This shall cause uniformity even under several Dominions, without those woful inconveniencies whereunto the State of *Christendom* was subject heretofore, through the Tyranny and Oppression of that one univerial *Nimrod*, who alone did all.

And

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And till the *christian* world be driven to enter into the peaceable and true consultation about some such kind of general Law concerning those things of weight and moment wherein now we differ; If one *church* hath not the same order which another hath, let every Church keep as near as may be the order it should have, and commend the just defence thereof unto God, even as *Judah* did when it differed in the exercise of Religion from that form which *Israel* followed.

Concerning therefore the matter whereof we have hitherto spoken, let it stand for our final conclusion, that in a free *christian* State or Kingdom, where one and the self same people are the *church* and the *commonwealth*, God through *christ* directing that people, to see it for good and weighty considerations expedient, that their Sovereign Lord and Governor in causes Civil, have also in *Ecclesiastical* Affairs a Supream Power; Forasmuch as the Light of reason doth lead them unto it, and against it, Gods own revealed law, hath nothing; surely they do not in submitting themselves thereunto, any other then that which a wise and religious people ought to do; it was but a little over-flowing of wit in *Thomas Aquinas*, so to play upon the words of *Moses* in the old, and of *Peter* in the new Testament; as though because the one did term the *Jews* a Priestly Kingdom, the other us a *Kingly Priesthood*: Those two Substantives *Kingdom* and *Priesthood*, should import that *Judaisme* did stand through the Kings Superiority over *Priests*, *christianity* through the *Priests* Supream Authority over *Kings*. Is it probable that *Moses* and *Peter* had herein so nice and curious conceits? or else more likely that both meant one and the same thing, namely that

God

Exod. 19.

1 Pet. 2.

* Thom. in eum
locum.

God doth glorifie and sanctifie his, even with full perfection in both; which thing St. *John* doth in plainer sort expresse, saying that Christ hath made us both *Kings* and *Priests*, Revel. i. 6.

Wherein it is from the purpose altogether alledged that *Constantine* termeth church-Officers Overseers of things within the church, himself of those without the church; that *Hilarie* beseecheth the Emperor *Constantine* to provide that the Governor of his Provinces should not presume to take upon them the judgment of Ecclesiastical Causes, unto whom commonwealth matters only belonged. That *Ambrose* affirmeth Palaces to belong unto the Emperor: but churches to the minister; The Emperor to have Authority of the common walls of the city, and not over holy things, for which cause he would never yield to have the causes of the Church debated in the Princes consistory, but excused himself to the Emperor *Valentinian* for that being converted to answer concerning Church matters in a Civil Court, he came not. That *Augustine* witnesseth how the Emperor not daring to judge of the Bishops cause committed it unto the Bishops, and was to crave pardon of the Bishops, for that by the *Donatists* importunity which made no end of appealing unto him, he was, being weary of them, drawn to give sentence in a matter of theirs, all which hereupon may be inferred reacheth no further then only unto the administration of Church Affairs, or the determination of Strifes and Controversie, rising about the matter of Religion: It proveth that in former ages of the world it hath been judged most convenient for Church-Officers to have the

[* This is also wanting in the common copy.]

* Euseb. l. 4. de vit. Constant,

* Dib. ad Const.

* Lib. 5. Ep. 33.

* Ep. 166. 163.

The Kings power

the hearing of causes meerly *Ecclesiasticall*, and not the *Emperour* himself in person to give sentence of them. No one man can be sufficient for all things.

And therefore publick affairs are divided, each kind, in all well ordered States, allotted unto such kind of persons, as reason presumeth fittest to handle them. Reason cannot presume *Kings* ordinarily so skilfull as to be personal Judges meet for the common hearing and determining of *Church controversies*. But they which are hereunto appointed and have all their proceedings authorized by such power as may cause them to take effect. The principality of which power (in making Laws, whereupon all these things depend) is not by any of these allegations proved incommunicable unto *Kings*, although not both in such sort, but that still it is granted by the one, that albeit *Ecclesiastical Councils* consisting of *Church Officers* did frame the Lawes, whereby the Church affairs were ordered in ancient times; yet no *Canon*, no not of any *Council* had the force of *Law* in the Church, unless it were ratified and confirmed by the *Emperour*, being *Christian*.

Seeing therefore it is acknowledged that it was then the manner of the *Emperor* to confirm the Ordinances which were made by the *Ministers*, which is as much in effect to say that the *Emperour* had in *Church Ordinances*, a voice negative, and that without his confirmation they had not the strength of publick Ordinances; Why are we condemned as giving more unto *Kings* then the *Church* did in those times, we giving them no more but the supreme power which the *Emperor* did then exercise with much larger scope then at this day) any *Christian King*, either doth or possibly can use it over the *Church*?

The

The case is not like when such Assemblies are gathered together by supreme authority concerning other affairs of the *Church*, and, when they meet about the making *Ecclesiasticall* Lawes or Statutes. For in the one they only are to advise, in the other they are to decree: The persons which are of the one the *King* doth voluntarily assemble as being in respect of gravity fit to consult withall; them which are of the other he calleth by prescript of Law as having right to be thereunto called. Finally, the one are but themselves, and their sentence hath but the weight of their own judgement; the other represent the whole *Clergie*, and their voices are as much as if all did give personal verdict. Now the question is whether the *Clergie* alone so assembled ought to have the whole power of making *Ecclesiasticall* Lawes, or else consent of the *Laitie* may thereunto be made necessarie, and the *Kings* assent so necessary, that his sole deniall may be of force to stay them from being Lawes.

If they with whom we dispute were uniform, strong and constant in that which they say we should not need to trouble our selves about their persons to whom the power of making Lawes for the *Church* belongeth; For they are sometimes very vehement in contention, that from the greatest thing unto the least about the *Church* all must needs be immediatly from God: & to this they apply the patern of the ancient Tabernacle which God delivered unto *Moses*, and was therein so exact, that there was not left as much as the least pin for the wit of man to devise in the framing of it. To this they also apply that strict and severe charge which God so of-

* This is in the common copie.

[That is, in the copies which the Primate then saw, but not in that which is now printed]

* Of their power in making Ecclesiasticall Lawes.

* What Lawes may be made for the affairs of the Church, & to whom the power of making them appertaineth

Deut. 12. 32.
4. 2.

Ios. 1. 7.

* Th. 2. quæst.
1c8. artic. 2.

tengave concerning his own Law; *Whatsoever I command you take heed you doe it; thou shalt put nothing thereto, thou shalt take nothing from it;* nothing, whether it be great or smal. Yet sometime berhinking themselves better, they speak as acknowledging that it doth suffice to have received in such sort the principall things from God, and that for other matters the Church hath sufficient authority to make Laws; wherupon they now have madeit a question, what persons they are, whose right it is to take order for the Churches affairs when the institution of any new thing therein is requisite. Laws may be requisite to be made either concerning things that are only to be known and believed in, or else touching that which is to be done by the Church of God. The Law of nature and the Law of God are sufficient for declaration in both, what belongeth unto each man separately as his soule is the spouse of Christ, yea so sufficient that they plainly and fully shew whatsoever God doth require by way of necessary introduction unto the state of everlasting blis. But as a man liveth joyned with others in common society, and belongeth unto the outward politique body of the Church, albeit the said Law of Nature and of Scripture, have in this respect also made manifest the things that are of greatest necessity, nevertheless by reason of new occasions still arising, which the Church, having care of souls must take order for, as need requireth; hereby it cometh to pass, that there is, and ever will be so great use even of humane Laws and Ordinances deducted by way of discourse, as conclusions from the former divine and natural serving for principles thereunto. No man doubteth but that for matters of action and pra-

cise

Since in the affairs of God, for manner in divine service, for order in Ecclesiastical proceedings about the Regiment of the *Church*, there may be oftentimes cause very urgent to have Laws made: but the reason is not so plain, wherefore humane Laws should appoint men what to believe.

Wherefore in this we must note two things: *First*, that in matter of opinion, the Law doth not make that to be truth which before was not, as in matters of action is causeth that to be duty which was not before; but it manifesteth only and giveth men notice of that to be truth, the contrary whereunto they ought not before to have believed. *Secondly*, that as opinions doe cleave to the understanding, and are in heart asserted unto, it is not in the power of any humane Law to command them, because to prescribe what men shall think, belongeth only unto God *sorde credisun ore fit confessio*, saith the Apostle: As opinions are either fit or inconvenient to be professed, so mans Law hath to determine of them. It may for publick unities sake require mens professed assent, or prohibit their contradiction to speciall articles, wherein as there happily hath bin controversie what is true, so the same were like to continue still, not without grievous detriment unto a number of souls, except Law to remedy that evil should set down a certainty, which no man afterwards is to gain-say.

Wherefore as in regard of divine Lawes, which the *Church* receiveth from God, we may unto every man apply those words of wisdom in *Solomon*, *Conserua fili mi precepta patris tui*, My sonne keep thou thy fathers precepts: Even so concerning the statutes and ordina-

Prov. 6.

ces which the *Church* it self makes, we may add there-
 unto the words that follow : *Et ne dimittas legem ma-*
tris tue, And forsake not thou thy mothers Law. It is
 undoubtedly a thing even naturall, that all free and in-
 dependent societies should themselves make their own
 Lawes. And that this power should belong to the
 whole, not to any certain part of a politique body,
 though happily some one part may have greater sway
 in that action then the rest. Which thing being gene-
 rally fit and expedient in the making of all Lawes, we
 see no cause why to think otherwise in lawes concerning
 the service of God, which in all well-ordered States and
 Common-wealthes is the first thing that Law hath care
 to provide for : When we speak of the right which na-
 turally belongeth to a Common-wealth, we speak of
 that which must needs belong to the *Church* of God ;
 For if the Common-wealth be *Christian* ; if the people
 which are of it do publickly imbrace the true Religion,
 this very thing doth make it the *Church*, as hath been
 shewed ; so that unless the verity and purity of Religi-
 on doe take from them which imbrace it, that power
 wherewith otherwise they are possessed : Look what
 authority, as touching Laws for Religion a Common-
 wealth hath simply.....

Here this breaks off abruptly.

* Δεί τὸν νόμον
 τῆς μητρὸς σου καὶ
 τοῦ θεοῦ σου, καὶ οὐκ
 ἀπολείψεις αὐτούς· καὶ τὸ
 κράτος καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν
 τοῦ λαοῦ σου τῷ θεῷ
 σου. δεῦτε 10.
 τα, τὰ δὲ αἰσχρο-
 τὰς μελῶν αὐ-
 τοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων
 καὶ. Archie. de
 le. c. & just.

The

*The Princes power in the advancement of Bishops, unto the
rooms of Prelacy.*

T Ouching the advancement of *Prelats* unto their rooms by the *King*: Whereas it seemeth in the eyes of many a thing very strange, that *Prelates* the Officers of Gods own Sanctuary, then which nothing is more sacred, should be made by persons secular; there are that will not have *Kings* be altogether of the *Laitie*, but to participate that sanctified power which God hath indued his Clergy with, and that in such respect they are *anointed* with oyle. A shift vain and needless for as much as if we speak properly, we cannot say *Kings* do make, but that they only do place *Bishops*, for in a *Bishop* there are these three things to be considered; The power whereby he is distinguished from other Pastors; The special portion of the *Clergy*, and the people over whom he is to exercise that Bishoplie Power; and the place of his Seat or Throne, together with the Profits, Preheminencies, Honors thereunto belonging. The first every Bishop hath by consecration, the second the Election invested him with; the third he receiveth of the *King* alone.

Which consecration the *King* intermedleth not farther then only by his Letters to present such an elect Bishop as shall be consecrated. Seeing therefore that none but *Bishops* do consecrate, it followeth that none but they do give unto every Bishop his being: The manner of uniting Bishops as heads unto the flock, and Clergy under

[*This is wanting in the common books of Mr. H. 1641's M. S.]

der them, hath often altered; for if some be not deceived, this thing was sometime done even without any election at all. At the first (saith he to whom the name of *Ambrose* is given) the first created in the Colledg of Presbyters was still the Bishop, he dying, the next Senior did succeed him. *Sed quia cæperunt sequentes Presbyteri indigni inveniri ad primatus tenēdos, immutata est ratio, prospiciente concilio, ut non ordo sed meritū crearet episcopum multorum sacerdotum constitutum, ne indignus temere usurparet & esset multis scandalum;* In elections at the beginning the Clergy and the people both had to do, although not both after one sort. The people gave their Testimonie and shewed their affection either of desire or dislike concerning the party which was to be chosen. But the choise was wholly in the sacred Colledg of *Presbyters*, hereunto it is that those usual speeches of the antient do commonly allude, as when *Pontius* concerning St. *Cyprians* election saith he was chosen *judicio Dei & populi favore*, by the judgment of God, and favor of the people, the one branch alluding to the voices of the Ecclesiastical Senat which with religious sincerity chose him, the other to the peoples affection, who earnestly desired to have him chosen their Bishop. Again, *Leo*, *nulla ratio finit, ut inter Episcopos habeantur qui nec a clericis sunt electi nec a plebeis expetiti.* No reason doth grant that they should be reckoned amongst Bishops whom neither Clergy hath elected, nor Laity coveted, in like sort *Honorius*. Let him only be established Bishop in the Sea of *Rome*, whom Divine Judgment and universal consent hath chosen.

That difference which is between the form of electing

In vit. Cypri.

*Nulla ratio
Dist. 63.*

** Ep. Honor
Imp. ad Bonif.
Concil. Tom. 1.*

cing Bishops at this day with us, and that which was usual in former ages riseth from the ground of that right which the *Kings* of this Land do claim in furnishing the places where Bishops elected & consecrated are to reside as Bishops: for considering the huge charges which the ancient famous Princes of this Land have been at, as well in erecting Episcopal Sees, as also in endowing them with ample possessions, sure of their religious magnificence and bounty, we cannot think but to have been most deservedly honored, with those Royall prerogatives, taking the benefit which groweth out of them in their vacancy, and of advancing alone unto such dignities what persons they judge most fit for the same. A thing over and besides, even therefore the more seasonable, for that as the *King* most justly hath preheminance to make Lords Temporal, which are not such by right of birth, so the like preheminance of bestowing where pleaseth him the honour of Spiritual Nobility also cannot seem hard, Bishops being Peers of the Realm, and by law it self so reckoned.

Now whether we grant so much unto *Kings* in this respect, or in the former consideration, whereupon the Lawes have annexed it unto the Crown it must of necessity being granted both make void whatsoever interest the people aforetime hath had towards the choice of their own Bishop, and also restrain the very act of Canonical election usually made by the Dean and Chapter, as with us in such sort it doth, that they neither can proceed unto any election till * leav be granted, nor * elect any person but that is named unto them. If they might doe the one it would be in them

* 25 Ed. 3.

* 25 Ed. 3.

* 25 H. 8. c. 20.

to

The Kings Power in

to defeat the King of his profits : If the other, then were the Kings preheminences of granting those dignities nothing. And therefore were it not for certain *Canons* requiring canonical election to be before consecration, I see no cause but that the *Kings* Letters patents alone might suffice well enough to that purpose, as by Law they doe in case those *Electors* should happen not to satisfie the *Kings* pleasure. Their election is now but a matter of form; it is the *Kings* meer grant which placeth, and the Bishops consecration which maketh Bishops : Neither do the *Kings* of this Land use herein any other then such prerogatives as foraign Nations have been accustomed unto.

* C. Nullus,
Dist. 63.

* Tem. 1. Concil

* Onuph. in Pe-
lag. 2.

About the year of our Lord 425. Pope *Boniface* solicited most earnestly the Emperour *Honorius* to take some order that the Bishops of *Rome* might be created without ambitious seeking of the place. A needles petition if so be the Emperour had no right at all in the placing of Bishops there. But from the days of *Justinian* the Emperour about the year 553. *Onuphrius* himself doth grant that no man was Bishop in the Sea of *Rome* whom first the Emperour by his Letters-patents did not licence to be consecrated, till in *Benedicts* time it pleased the Emperour to forgoe that right, which afterwards was restored to *Charles* with augmentation, and continued in his successors till such time as *Hildebrand* took it from *Hen. 4.* and ever since the *Cardinals* have held it as at this day.

Had not the right of giving them belonged to the Emperours of *Rome* within the compass of their Dominions what needeth Pope *Leo* the fourth to trouble *Lotharius* and *Lodowick* with those his Letters whereby
having

having done them to understand that the Church called *Reatina* was without a Bishop, he maketh suit that one *Colonus* might have the *Rome*, or if that were otherwise disposed, his next request was, *Tusculanum Ecclesiam qua viduata existit illi vestra serenitas dignetur concedere, ut consecrans à nostro presulatu Deo omnipotenti vestroque imperio gratis peragere valeat*: May it please your Clemencies to grant unto him the Church of *Tuscula*, now likewise void, that by our Episcopal authority, he being after consecrated may be to Almighty God and your *Higness* therefore thankfull.

Touching other Bishopricks extant, there is a very short, but a plain discourse written almost 500. years since, by occasion of that miserable contention raised between the Emperor *Henr. 4.* and Pope *Hildebrand.* named otherwise *Gregory* the seventh, not as *Platina* would bear men in hand for that the B. of *Rome* would not brook the Emperors Symoniacall dealing, but because the right which *Christian Kings* and *Emperors* had to invest Bishops, hindred so much his ambitious designments, that nothing could detain him from attempting to wrest it violently out of their hands. This Treatise I mention for that it shortly comprehendeth not only the fore-alleged right of the Emperour of *Rome*, acknowledged by six several *Popes*, even with bitter execration against whomsoever of their successors that should by word or deed at any time goe about to infringe the same, but also further these other specialties appertaining therunto: *First*, that the Bishops likewise of *Spain*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Hungary* had by ancient institution alwaies been invested by their *Kings* without opposition or disturbance. *Second-*

* *Walafridus Naumburgensis de investit Episcoporum per Imperat. faciend.*

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ly, that such was their royal interest partly for that they were founders of Bishopricks, partly because they undertook the defence of them against all ravenous oppressions and wrongs, part in as much that it was not safe, that rooms of so great power and consequence in their estate, should without their appointment be held by any under them. And therefore that ev'n Bishops then did homage, and took their oathes of fealty unto the *Kings* which invested them. *Thirdly*, that what solemnity or Ceremony *Kings* do use in this action it skilleth not; as namely whether they doe it by word or by precept, set down in writing or by delivery of a staffe and a ring, or by any other means whatsoever only that use and Custome would, to avoid all offence, be kept. Some base Canonists there are which contend that neither *Kings* nor *Emperours* had ever any right hereunto saving only by the *Popes* either grant or toleration. Whereupon nor to spend any further labour we leave their folly to be controlled by men of more ingenuity & judgment even amongst themselves: *Duarenſis, Papon, Choppinus, Agidius, Magister, Arnulphus, Ruzaus, Costvius, Philippus Probus*, and the rest, by whom the right of *Christian Kings and Princes* herein is maintained to be such as the *Bishops of Rome* cannot lawfully either withdraw, or abridge or hinder. But of this thing there is with us no question although with them there be; the Laws and customes of the Realm approving such regalities in case no reason thereof did appear, yet are they hereby abundantly warranted unto us, except some Law of God or nature to the contrary could be shewed.

How much more when they have been every where
thought

thought so reasonable, that *Christian Kings* throughout the world use and exercise, if not altogether: yet surely with very little odds the same; so far that *Gregorie* the tenth forbidding such regalities to be newly begun, where they were not in former times, if any doe claim those rights from the first foundation of *Churches*, or by ancient custome of them, he only requireth that neither they nor their agents damnifie the *Church of God*, by using the said prerogatives: Now as there is no doubt but the *Church of England* by this means is much eased of some inconveniences, so likewise a speciall care there is requisite to be had, that other evils no less dangerous may not grow. By the history of former times it doth appear, that when the freedom of Elections was most large, mens dealings and proceedings therein were not the least faulty.

* *cap. General.
de elect. l. 6.*

Of the people *St. Jerome* complaineth, that their judgements many times went much awrie, and that in allowing of their Bishops, every man favoured his own quality, every ones desire was not so much to be under the regiment of good and virtuous men, as of them which werelike himself. What man is there whom it doth not exceedingly grieve to read the tumults, tragedies, and schismes which were raised by occasion of the *Clergy* at such times as divers of them standing for some one place, there was not any kind of practise though never so dishonest or vile left unassailed, whereby men might supplant their Competitors, and the one side foil the other. *St. Iovin* speaking of a Bishoprick void in his time: *The decease of the former Bishop* (saith he) *was an alarm to such as would labour for the room: Whereupon the people forthwith betaking them selves unto*

* *Adver. Jo-
vin. l. 1.*

* *L. 7. Epist. 9.*

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parts, storm on each side, few there are that make suit for the advancement of any other man; many who not only offer but enforce themselves. All things light, variable, counterfeit. What should I say? I see not any thing plain and open but impudence only.

In the Church of *Constantinople* about the election of *S. Chrysostome* by reason that some strove mightily for him and some for *Nectarius*, the troubles growing had not been small, but that *Arcadius* the Emperor interposed himself; even as at *Rome* the Emperor *Valentinian*, whose forces were hardly able to establish *Damasus* Bishop, and to compose the strife between him and his Competitor *Ursicinus*, about whose election the blood of 137 was already shed. Where things did not break out into so manifest and open flames, yet between them which obtained the place; and such as before withstood their promotion, that secret hart burning often grew, which could not afterwards be easily slaked; insomuch that *Pontius* doth note it as a rare point of vertue in *Cyprian*, that whereas some were against his election, he notwithstanding dealt ever after in most friendly manner with them, all men wondering that so good a memory was so easily able to forget. These and other the like hurts accustomed to grow from ancient elections we doe not feel. Howbeit least the Church in more hidden sort should sustain even as grievous detriment by that order which is now of force; we are most humbly to crave at the hands of Sovereign Kings and Governors, the highest Patrons which this Church of *Christ* hath on earth, that it would please them to be advertised thus much.

Albeit these things which have been sometimes,
done.

* Theo. 1. lib. 5.

cap. 27.

* Sozom. lib. 8.

cap. 2.

* Marcell. l. 15.

* Soer. 2. c. 27.

* Ch. 2. 4. c. 29.

* Theod. l. 2.

c. 15, 16, 17.

* Sozom. lib. 4.

c. 11. & l. 6.

c. 23.

* In vit. Cyp.

done by any sort may afterwards appertain unto others, and so the kind of Agents vary as occasions daily growing shall require, yet sundry unremovable and unchangeable burthens of duty there are annexed unto every kind of publique action, which burthens in this case Princes must know themselves to stand now charged with in Gods sight, no lesse than the People and the Clergy, when the power of electing their *Prelates* did rest fully and wholly in them.

A fault it had been if they should in choice have preferred any, whom desert of most holy life and the gift of divine wisdom did not commend, a fault if they had permitted long the rooms of the principal *Pastors* of God to continue void, not to preserve the *Church* patrimony, as good to each Successor as any Predecessor enjoy the same, had been in them a most odious & grievous fault. Simply, good and evil doe not loose their nature. That which was is the one or the other, whatsoever the subject of either be. The faults mentioned are in *Kings* by so much greater for that in what *Churches* they exercise those *Regalities*, whereof we do now intreat, the same *Churches* they have received into their speciall care and custody, with no lesse effectual obligation of conscience then the *Tutor* standeth bound in for the person and state of that pupill whom he hath solemnly taken upon him to protect and keep. All power is given unto edification, none to the overthrow and destruction of the *Church*. Concerning therefore the first branch of spiritual dominion, thus much may suffice, seeing that they with whom we contend doe not directly oppose themselves against regalities, but only so far forth as generally they hold that no *Church dignity* should

• C. Sacrorum
Canon. dist. 63.

• C. Lellis Dist.
63.

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should be granted without consent of the common People, and that there ought not to be in the Church of Christ any Episcopall Rooms for Princes to use their Regalitie in. Of both which questions we have sufficiently spoken before.

[* This is in the common Copy of Mr. Hooker's M. S. that is, in the copies which the Primate then saw, but not in the now printed ones.]

As therefore the person of the King may for just consideration, even where the cause is civil, be notwithstanding withdrawn from occupying the seat of Judgment and others under his authority be fit, he unfit himself to judge; so the considerations for which it were happily not convenient for *Kings*, to sit and give sentence in spiritual Courts, where causes Ecclesiastical are usually debated, can be no bar to that force and efficacie which their Sovereign power hath over those very Consistories, and for which we hold without any exception that all Courts are the *Kings*. All men are not for all things sufficient, and therefore publick affairs being divided, such persons must be authorised Judges in each kinde as common reason may presume to be most fit; Which cannot of *King's* and *Princes* ordinarily be presumed in causes meerly Ecclesiastical, so that even common sense doth rather adjudge this burthen unto other men. We see it hereby a thing necessary to put a difference as well between that ordinary jurisdiction which belongeth to the Clergy alone, and that Commissionary wherein others are for just considerations appointed to joyn with them, as also between both these Jurisdictions and a third, whereby the King hath a transcendent Authority, and that in all causes over both. Why this may not lawfully be granted unto him, there is no reason. A time there was when *Kings* were not capable of any such power, as namely
when

when they professed themselves open Adversaries unto *Christ* and *christianity*. A time there followed when they being capable, took sometimes more, sometimes less to themselves, as seem'd best in their own eyes, because no certainty touching their right was as yet determined.

The Bishops who alone were before accustomed to have the ordering of such Affairs, saw very just cause of grief when the highest, favoring Heresie, withstood by the strength of Sovereign Authority, religious proceedings; whereupon they oftentimes against this unresistable Power, pleaded that use and custom which had been to the contrary; namely, that the Affairs of the church should be dealt in by the clergy and by no other, unto which purpose the sentences that then were uttered in defence of unabolishing Orders and Laws, against such as did of their own heads contrary thereunto, are now altogether impertinently brought in opposition against them who use but that power which Laws have given them, unless men can show that there is in those Laws some manifest Iniquity or Injustice. Whereas therefore against the force Judicial & Imperial which Supream Authority hath, it is alledged how *Constantine* termeth Church Officers, Overseers of things within the Church, himself of all without the Church; how *Augustine* witnesseth that the Emperor not daring to judge of the Bishops cause, committed it unto the Bishops, and was to crave pardon of the Bishops, for that by the *Donatists* importunity, which made no end of appealing unto him, he was (being weary of them) drawn to give sentence in a matter of theirs, how *Hilarie* beseecheth the Emperor *Constance* to provide

* T. C. lib. 3.
Pag. 155.

* Euseb. de
vita Constant.
lib. 4.
* Epist. 181.
118.

* Lib. ad Con-
stant.

vide that the Governors of his Provinces should not presume to take upon them the Judgment of *Ecclesiastical causes*, to whom Commonwealth matters only belonged; how *Ambrose* affirmeth that Palaces belong unto the Emperor, Churches to the Minister, that the Emperor hath Authority over the Commonwealth of the City, and not in holy things, for which cause he never would yield to have the Causes of the Church debated in the *Princes Consistory*, but excused himself to the Emperor *Valentinian*, for that being convened to Answer concerning *Church Matters*, in a civil court, he came not.

[Besides these Testimonies of Antiquity, which Mr. *Cart.* bringeth forth, Doctor *Stapleton* who likewise citeth them one by one to the same purpose, hath augmented the number of them, by adding other of the like nature; namely, how *Hosius* the Bishop of *Corduba* answered the Emperor, saying, God hath committed to thee the Empire; with those things that belong to the Church, he hath put us in trust. How *Leontius* Bishop of *Tripolis* also told the self same Emperor as much. *I wonder how thou which art called unto one thing, takest upon thee to deal in another, for being placed in Military and Politique Affairs, in things that belong unto Bishops alone thou wilt bear rule.*] We may by these Testimonies drawn from Antiquity, if we list to consider them, discern how requisite it is that Authority should always follow received laws in the manner of proceeding. For in as much as there was at the first no certain law determining what force the principal Civil Magistrates Authority should be of, how far it should reach, and what order it should observe, but *Christian Emperors* from time to time did what themselves thought most

* Lib. 5. Ep 33

* Inclusa desunt in tui auct exempli ib.

* Doctrin. mixtip. lib. 5. Cont. 2 cap. 18.

* Apud Athanas in 1 pist. ad solit. vit. agerit.

* Suid. in verb. Leontius.

most reasonable, in those Affairs, by this means it cometh to pass, that they in their practice varie, and are not uniforme.

Virtuous Emperors, such as *Constantine* the great was, made conscience to swerve unnecessarily from the customes which had been used in the Church, even when it lived under Infidels. *Constantine* of reverence to Bishops, and their spiritual authority, rather abstained from that which himself might lawfully do, then was willing to claim a power not fit or decent for him to exercise. The order which had been before he ratifieth, exhorting Bishops to look to the Church, and promising that he would do the office of a Bishop over the Common-wealth. Which very *Constantine* notwithstanding did not thereby so renounce all authority in judging of spirituall causes, but that sometimes he took, as *St. Augustine* witnesseth, even personall cognition of them. Howbeit whether as purposing to give therein judicially any sentence, I stand in doubt; for if the other, of whom *St. Augustine* elsewhere speaketh, did in such sort judge, surely there was cause why he should excuse it as a thing not usally done. Otherwise there is no let but that any such great person may hear those causes to and fro debated, and deliver in the end his own opinion of them, declaring on which side himself doth judge that the truth is. But this kind of sentence bindeth no side to stand thereunto: it is a sentence of private perswasion, and not of solemn jurisdiction, albeit a King or an Emperour pronounce it.

Again on the contrary part, when Governors infected with Heresie were possessed of the highest power they thought they might use it, as pleased themselves

* *Epist. 63.*

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to further by all means therewith that opinion which they desired should prevail. They not respecting at all what was meer, presumed to command and judge all men in all causes without either care of orderly proceeding or regard to such laws & customs as the *Church* had been wont to observe. So that the one sort feared to doe even that which they might, and that which the other ought not they boldly presumed upon: the one sort modestly excused themselves when they scarce needed, the other though doing that which was inexcusable bare it out with main power, not enduring to be told by any man how far they roved beyond their bounds. So great odds between them whom before we mentioned, and such as the younger *Valentinian*, by whom *St. Ambrose* being commanded to yeild up one of the *Churches* under him unto the *Arrians*, whereas they which were sent on his message, alledged that the Emperour did but use his own right for as much as all things were in his own power, the answer which the holy Bishop gave them was, that the *Church* is the House of God, and that those things which be Gods are not to be yielded up and disposed of at the Emperors will and pleasure; his pallaces he might grant unto whomsoever. A cause why many times Emperours did more by their absolute authority then could very well stand with reason, was the over-great importunity of wicked *Hereticks*, who being enemies to peace and quietness cannot otherwise then by violent means be supported. In this respect therefore we must needs think the state of our own *Church* much better settled then theirs was, because our Laws have with farr more certainty prescribed bounds unto each kind of power.

All

All decisions of things doubtfull, and corrections of things amiss are proceeded in by order of Law, what person soever he be unto whom the administration of judgement belongeth: It is neither permitted unto Prelate nor Prince to judge and determin at their own discretion, but Law hath prescribed what both shall do. What power the King hath, he hath it by Law, the bounds and limits of it are known. The entire community giveth general order by Law how all things publickly are to be done, and the King as the head thereof the highest in authority over all, causeth according to the same Law every particular to be framed and ordered thereby. The whole body politick maketh Lawes, which Lawes give power unto the King, and the King having bound himself to use according unto Law that power, it so falleth out that the execution of the one is accomplished by the other in most religious and peaceable sort. There is no cause given unto any to make supplication as *Hilary* did, that *Civil Governors* to whom Common-wealth matters only belong, may not presume to take upon them the judgement of Ecclesiastical causes.

If the cause be spiritual, secular *Courts* doe not meddle with it, we need not excuse our selves with *Ambrose*, but boldly and lawfully we may refuse to answer before any Civill Judge in a matter which is not Civill; so that we doe not mistake the nature either of the cause or of the *Court*, as we easily may doe both, without some better direction then can be had by the rules of this new-found *Disciplines* But of this most certain we are that our

* See the Statute of Edward 1. and Edward 2. and Nat. Brew. touching Prohibition. See also in Bract in these sentences l. 5. c. 2. *Est jurisdictio quædam ordinaria*

delegata, quæ pertinet ad Sacerdotium & forum Ecclesiasticum, sicut in causis spiritualibus & spiritualitati annexis. Est etiam alia jurisdictio, ordinaria vel delegata, quæ pertinet ad Coronam & dignitatem Regis & ad Regnum, in causis & placitis rerum temporalium in foro seculari. Again, cum diverse sint hinc inde jurisditiones, & diverse judices, & diverse causæ, debet quilibet ipsarum imprimis æstimare, an (sua sit) jurisdictio, ne scilicet videatur ponere in messem alienam. Again, Non pertinet ad Regem injungere penitentiam, nec ad judicem secularem. Nec etiam ad eos pertinet cognoscere de iis quæ sunt, spiritualibus annexa, sicut de decimis & aliis Ecclesiæ provisionibus. Again, Non est talis conveniendus coram iudice Ecclesiastico de aliquo quod in foro seculari terminari possit & debeat,

~~which is the Kings exemption from Censure, and other Judiciall Power.~~

** The Kings exemption from Censure, and other Judiciall Power.*

[* None of all this which follows is to be found in the common copy of Mr Hookers MS.]

THe last thing of all which concerns the Kings Supremacie is whither thereby he may be exempted from being subject to that judiciall Power which Ecclesiasticall consistories have over men. It seemeth first in most mens Judgements to be requisite, that on earth there should not be any alive altogether without standing in awe of some by whom they may be controled and bridled.

The good estate of a Commonwealth within it self
is.

is thought on nothing to depend more then upon these two speciall affections *Feare* and *Love*: *Feare* in the highest Governour himself, and *Love* in the Subjects that live under Him. The Subjects love for the most part continueth as long as the righteousness of Kings doth last, in whom vertue decaieth not as long as they feare to do that which may alienate the loving hearts of their Subjects from them. Feare to do evill groweth from the harm which evill doers are to suffer. If therefore private men which know the danger they are subject unto, being malefactors, do notwithstanding so boldly adventure upon hainous crimes, Only because they know it is possible for some Transgressor sometimes to escape the danger of law. In the Mighty upon earth (which are not alwaies so Virtuous and Holy that their own good minds will bridle them) what may we look for considering the frailty of mens nature, if the world do once hold it for a *Maxime* that Kings ought to live in no subjection, that how grievous disorder soever they fall into, none may have coercive power over them. Yet so it is that this we must necessarily admit as a number of rightwell Learned men are perswaded.

Let us therefore set down first what there is which may induce men so to think, and then consider their severall inventions or ways who judge it a thing necessary even for Kings themselves to be punishable, and that by men. The question it self we will not determine, The reasons of each opinion being opened it shall be best for the wise to judge which of them is likeliest to be true. Our purpose being not to oppugne any save onely that which Reformers hold and of the rest rather to enquire then to give sentence. Inducements

The Kings exemption from Censure.

ments leading men to think the highest *Majestrate* should not be judged of any saving God alone, are specially these.

First, as there could be in naturall bodies no motion of any thing unlesse there were some which moved all things and continueth unmoveable, even so in politick Societies, there must be some unpunishable or else no man shall suffer punishment, For sith punishments proceed alwaies from Superiors to whom the administration of justice belongeth, which administration must have necessarily a fountain that deriveth it to all others, and receiveth not from any, because otherwise the Course of Justice should go infinitely in a Circle every Superiour having his Superior without end, which cannot be; therefore a well-spring, it followeth there is, and a supreme head of Justice whereunto all are subject, but it self in subjection to none. Which kind of Preheminence if some ought to have in a Kingdome, who but the King shall have it? Kings therefore no man can have lawfull power and Authority to judge.

If private men offend, there is the *Majestrate* over them which judgeth; if *Majestrates* they have their *Prince*. If Princes there is *Heaven*, a Tribunall, before which they shall appeare: on earth they are not accountable to any.

Here it breaks off abruptly.

The



The FORM
OF
Church Government,
Before and after Christ.

As it is expressed in the
OLD and NEW TESTAMENT.

Of the Form of Government in the Old Testament.

THere were *Priests* before the Law.
Melchisedech

Genes. 14. 18.

In Egypt { *46. 20.*

41. 50. Potiphera.

In the East, { *Job. 1. 3. 42. 8.*

Exod. 2. 16. Madian.

Among the Jews. Exod. 19. 22, 24.

These were Young men of the Sons of Israel

Exod. 24. 5.

The Eldest Sons or First-Born

Numb. { 3. 12.
8. 16.

Under

The Form of Government

Under MOSES,

The Commonwealth of Israel was either *personal*, containing all the whole people, nor a man left. דבר ה' אל משה

Or *Representative* { *Estate,*
{ *Tribes,*
 in which the { *Cities,* whose *Daughters* the towns
 adjacent are called.

I. The Estate had ever one Governor,

1. *Moses,*
2. *Joshua,*
3. *Judges,*
4. *Tirshathaes* or (Vice-Roys) *Ezra* 2. 63. with whom were joyned the LXX, *Elders* called (זקנים) and (הזקנים)

II. The Tribes had every one their *Prince*, קנצו *Phylarcha* (*Num.* 2.) with whom were joyned the *Chief of the Families*, *Patriarcha* (*Num.* 1. 4.)

III. The Cities had each likewise their *Ruler*: *Judg.* 9. 30. 1 *Kings* 22. 26. 2 *Kings* 23. 8. with whom were joyned the *Elders*, or *Ancients* (*Ruth* 4. 2. *Ezra* 10. 14.)

These last, not before they came into *Canaan*, (and were settled in their Cities.)

It appeareth, that *Moses* sometime consulted only with the heads of the Tribes, and then one Trumpet only sounded, *Num.* 10. 4. In some other causes with the דבר (or Assembly of the LXX.) and then both Trumpets

pets called (*Num.* 10. 3.) * *when all did meet it represented the whole body of Israel* : [So then sometimes all the people, the whole body of Israel met; sometimes the whole people were represented by the chief men of the several Tribes.]

The *highest* BENCH, or *Judgment* for causes of greatest difficulty was that of the LXX, who at the first were the *Fathers* of each *Family* that came down to *Egypt* (*Gen.* 46.) which *number* did after that remain, *Exod.* 24. 1. 9. and was at last by *God* himself so appointed *Num.* 11. 16. See (*2 Chron.* 19. 8.)

The *inferiour* BENCHES, for matters of less importance were erected by *Fathers* advice.

Of Rulers of $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Thousands} \\ \text{Hundreds} \\ \text{Fifties} \\ \text{Tensings} \end{array} \right\} \text{Exod. 18. 21, 26,}$

And after established by *Gods* approbation (*Deut.* 16.) in every City, wherein (as *Josephus* saith) were seven ^{* *Antiquit. l. 4. c. 8.*} Judges, and for each Judge two *Levites*, which made together the *Bench* of each City.

The *Forme* of Ecclesiasticall Government [amongst the Priests.]

THE *Priesthood* was settled in the Tribe of *Levy* by *God*.

Levy had three Sons, *Cohath*, *Gershon*, and *Mérari*.

Of these, ^{the} Line of *Cohath* was preferred before the rest.

O

From

The form of Ecclesiasticall

From him descended four Families; *Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Itzziel.*

Of these the Stock of *Amram* was made chief.

He had two Sons, *Aaron* and *Moses*.

Aaron was by God appointed *High-priest*,

So that there came to be four distinctions of *Levites*:

1. *Aaron* as chief,

2. *Cohath*,

3. *Gershon*,

4. *Merari*.

The Common-wealth of *Israel* was at the beginning in the Desert, a Camp in the midst whereof the *Ark* and *Tabernacle* were pitched; and according to the four Coasts whereof they quartered themselves, on every side three Tribes.

On the	East	side	{	Judah, Issachar, Zabulon,	Num. 2
	South				
	West				
	North				
				Reuben, Simeon, Gad,	verse 3
				Ephraim, Manasses, Benjamin.	10
					18
				Dan, Asher, Naphtali.	15

These four Quarters were committed to those four Divisions of *Levites*.

The	East	quarter to	{	Aaron and his Family,	Numb. 3.
	South				
	West				
	North				
				The Cohathites,	verse 38.
				The Gershonites,	29.
				The Merarites,	33.
					35.
					Who

Government among the Priests.

99

Who lodged among them, and took charge of them as of their several *Wards*.

But there was not an *equality* in these four, for,

1. *Aarons Family*, which bare the Ark it self was *chief*.

2. *Cohath's*, which bare the Tabernacle, and Vessels *next*.

3. *Gershons*, which bare the Veile and Hangings of the Court, *Third*

4. *Meraries*, which bare the Pillars and Posts, *last*.

Neither were all the *Levites* of each of these several houses *equal*, but God ordained a *superiority* among them.

Over the	{	Priests	<i>Eleazar</i>	} <i>Numb. 3. ver. 30.</i>
		Cohathites	<i>Elizaphan</i>	
		Gershonites	<i>Eliafaph</i>	
		Merarites	<i>Zuriel</i>	
				<i>24.</i>
				<i>35.</i>

Whom he termeth *Nesim*, that is, *Prelates* or *Superi-ors*. No, nor did he permit these four to be *equals* among themselves; but

Appointe	{	<i>Ithamar</i> (<i>Exod.</i> 38.21. to com- mand over	<i>Eliafaph</i> with his <i>Gershonites</i> <i>Num. 4. 28.</i>	
			<i>Zuriel</i> with his <i>Merarites</i> , <i>Num. 4. 33.</i>	
		<i>Eleazar</i> (<i>Num. 4.</i> 16) to have ju- risdiction over	his own Family.	
			<i>Elizaphan</i> with his <i>Coha- thites.</i>	
			<i>O 2</i>	<i>Yea</i>

The Form of Government

Note.

Yea he maketh not *Eleazar*, and *Ithamar* to be absolute equals, but giveth *Eleazar* preeminence over *Ithamar*, and therefore termeth him *Nasi Nasiim*, *Principes Principum*, or *Pralatus Pralatorum*, Num. 3. 32.

And all these under *Aaron* the ² highest.

So that

1. *Aaron* was the High Priest.
2. Under him *Eleazar*; who as he had his peculiar charge to look unto, so was he ² also generally to rule both *Ithamar's* jurisdiction and his own.
3. Under him *Ithamar*, over two Families,
4. Under him the three Prelates,
5. Under each of them their several Chief Fathers, as they are termed (*Exod. 6. 25.*) under *Elizaphan* Four, under *Elisaph* two, under *Zuriel* two, Num. 3. 18. &c.
6. Under these the several persons of their Kindred.

Note.

This is here worth the noting, that albeit, it be granted that *Aaron* was the type of *Christ*, and so we forbear to take any argument from him, (yet *Eleazar*) who was no Type, nor ever so deemed by any Writer) will serve sufficiently to shew such superiority as is pleaded for, that is a personal Jurisdiction in one Man resiant over the Heads or Rulers of divers charges [in one Kingdom State or National Government, as here in *Israel* under *Moses*, who was (as Kings now are) *custos viri- usque tabulae*, and took care of all matters Civil and Ecclesiastical.].

The

The Form of Government under J O S H U A.

THe Commonwealth being changed from the *Am-
bulatory* Form, into a *settled* Estate in the Citys of
Caanan, as before the *Levites* were divided according
to the several *Quarters* of the *Camp*, so now were they
sorted into the several *Territories* of the *Tribes*, so God
commanded, *Num.* 35. 2. 8.

The Lot so fell, that the four partitions of the XII.
Tribes were not the same, as when they camped before
together, but after another sort, for the *Tribes* of

1. *Juda, Simeon, and Benjamine* made the
first
 2. *Ephraim, Dan, and half the Tribe of*
Manasses, the second
 3. *Izachar, Asher, Naphtali, and the o-*
ther half of Manasses, the third
 4. *Zebulun, Reuben, and Gad* the fourth.)
- } Quarter.

Now in these Four.

1. The charge, or over-sight of the *first* was com-
mitted to *Aaron* and his Family, and they had therein
assigned to them XIII. Cities, in *Judah* and *Simeon* IX.
and in *Benjamin* IV. (*Joshua* 21. 10. &c.)

2. of the *second* the care was committed to the Fa-
mily of the *Cohathites*, and they had * therein assigned
to them X. cities; in *Ephraim* IV. in *Dan*. IV. and in
the *half of Manasses* II. (*Joshua* 21. 20.)

3. The *third* was committed to the Family of *Ger-*
shon, and they had therein assigned to them XIII. cities;
in

The Form of Government

in *Issachar* IV. in *Asher* IV. in *Naphtali* III. in the other half of *Manasse* II. (*Joshua* 21. 27.)

4. The oversight of the fourth partition was committed to the *Merarites*, and they had therein assigned to them XII. cities; in *Zebulun* IV. in *Reuben* IV. in *Gad* IV. (*Joshua* 21. 34.)

These were in all XLVIII cities, whereof the chief (as may appear) were cities set on hills, and all situate in such proportion of distance, as they most equally parted their Tribe among them, to perform unto them their duties of attendance and instruction.

Further there were in *Joshua's* time added by decree of the Princes, the *Nethinims* of the people of *Gibeon* for the lowest Ministeries, and for the service of the *Levites* (*Joshua* 9. 27.)

So that now the order was thus.

1. *Eleazer.*
2. *Phineas.*
3. *Abisa.*
4. The three *Nesim.*
5. The *Rase Aboth* (or heads of the Families.)
6. The *Levites.*
7. The *Nethinims.*

Note.

If this power and superiority was necessary, when all the people and Priests were within one Trench, even within the view of *Aarons eye*, much more in *Canaan*, when they were scattered abroad in divers cities farre distant, was the retaining of it more then necessary.

* Now the abovesaid 48. Cities of the *Levites* were these,

In

In *Judah* and *Simeon* IX. viz.

"*Hebron, Libna, Fattir, Efstrema, Holon, Debir, Ain, Fuita, Bethshimefh.*

a Sam. 2. 3.
Nehem. 11. 15.

In *Benjamin* IV. viz.

"*Gibeon, Geba, Anathoth, Almon.*

In *Ephraim* IV. viz.

"*Sichem, Gezer, Kibraim, Beth-horon.*

All this is writ
with the Lord
Primas ^{Ubers}
own hand.

In *Dan* IV. viz.

"*Eltekah, Tekoa, Gibethorh, Aialon.*

In the half of *Manasses* II. viz.

"*Taanach, Gathrimmon.*

In *Iffachar* IV. viz.

"*Kishon, Dabera, Farmath, Engamin.*

In *Aser* IV. viz.

"*Mishall, Abdon, Hetka, Rehob.*

In *Nephtali* III. viz.

"*Redish Galilaa, Isamoth Dor, Kiriathaim.*

In the half of *Manasses* II. viz.

"*Golan Aftiaroth.*

In *Zabulon* IV. viz.

"*Fockmea, Karta, Dimna, Nahatal.*

In

In *Reuben IV. viz.*

“*Bezer, Fahaza, Kedimoth, Nephaath.*

In *Gad, IV. viz.*

2 Sam. 17. 24. Ramoth Gilead, Mahanaim Heshbon, and Faxer.

The Forme of Government under D A V I D.

Note.

A Lbeit under *Sauls* Government small regard was had to the *Church*, yet *David* found at his coming a *Superiority* among them.

For besides the *Priests*, he found six *Princes* or *Rulers* over six families of the *Levites* (*1. Chron. 15. 5, 6. &c.*)

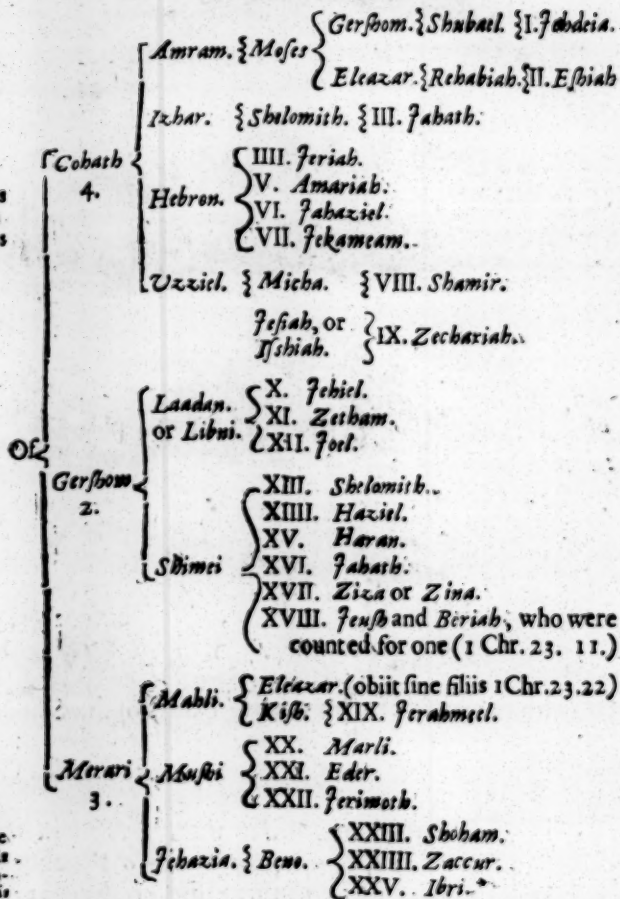
<i>Uriel.</i>	}	over	{	<i>Cobath.</i>
<i>Ajaiah.</i>				<i>Merari.</i>
<i>Foel.</i>	}		{	<i>Gershon.</i>
<i>Shemaiah.</i>				<i>Elixaphan.</i>
<i>Eliel.</i>	}		{	<i>Hebron.</i>
<i>Aminadab.</i>				<i>Uzziel.</i>

Likewise between the two *Priests* an *inequality*, the one *Abiathar*, attending the *Ark* at *Jerusalem*: the higher Function, the other *Zadock*, the *Tabernacle* at *Gibeon* (*2 Sam. 20. 25. 1 Chr 16. 37. 39.*) But after the *Arke* was brought back, he set a most exquisite Order among the *Levites*, and that by *Samuels* direction. *1. Chron. 9. 22.* So that he is there reckoned as a new *Founder*.

Of

The Form of Government

All this was
written with
the L. Primats
own hand.



1 Chron. 24.

verſ. 16, 17.

* I BR I the
J E R I A H in his
review and emen-
dation ſhew in this
place made this
Query.

Se ing the Cour- chief over them all) in reſpect of his generall ſuperintendency over the reſt.
ſe. w. to. but 14.
why ſhould I B I T be reckoned Jedaiah was chief. Quer. Whether he was not to be counted
one of the 24 becauſe of his generall ſuperintendency over the reſt. This Query ſeems to be reſolved
by the P R I M A T E, and was the occaſion of ſetting down the above mentioned Genealogy.

III. OF

III. Of *Judges* that sate for Causes as well of God as
the King there were appointed 3 Of *Judges*.

- { 1. On this side *Jordan* upwards towards the River,
 Ashabiah the *Hebronite* (1 *Chron.* 26. 30.)
2. On this side *Jordan* downwards towards the Sea
 Chenaniah the *Isharite* (1 *Chron.* 26. 29.)
3. Beyond *Jordan* over the two Tribes and the half,
 Ferijah the chief of the *Hebronites* (1 *Chr.* 26. 31.) }

IV. Of *Officers*.4 of *Officers*.

Scribes. { *Shemajah* (1 *Chron.* 24. 6.)
 Serajah (2 *Sam.* 8. 17.)
 Shervah (2 *Sam.* 20. 25.) }

Scribes of the { *Levites* (1 *Chron.* 24. 6.)
 Temple (2 *Kings* 22. 3. *Jerem.* 36. 10.)
 People (*Matt.* 2. 4.)
 King. 2 *Kings* (12. 10.) }

V. Of the *Singers*, likewise he set XXIV. *courses*, over which he placed three chief out of the three families
Chro. 15. 17. & 25. 2, 3, 4.

Out of { *Cohath*, *Heman* *Samuels* Nephew (1 *Chron.*
 6. 33.)
 Gershon, *Asaph* (1 *Chron.* 6. 30.)
 Merari, *Esham*, or *Feduthun* (1 *Chro.* 6. 44.)
Of these *Heman* was the Chief (1 *Chron.* 25. 5.)
Under these were divers others * (*Chron.* 15.
18.) מְשִׁימִים.

The Form of Government

6 Of Porters.

VI. Of
Porters
who
were di-
vided
into the

Keepers of the
Watch of the
Temple (*Matt.*
27. 65.) *Psal.*
134. 1.) who
were placed on
each quarter of
the Tabernacle
(*1 Chr.* 26. 13.
14. &c.)

On the

East side VI. over
whom was *Shela-
miab.*
South IV. (for the
Tabernacle II. for
Asuppim) over
whom was *Obed-
Edom.*
West IV. over who
was *Hofa.*
North IV. over
whom was *Ze-
chariah.*

Over all these it seemeth *Benajah*, the son
of *Fehoiadah* the Priest was the chief (*1 Chron.*
25 5.) * *σπαρταγὴς τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, the Captain of the
Temple (*Acts* 4. 1.)

Revenues of
the house of
God (*1 Chr.*
26. 20.)

Treasurers
for the

Things de-
dicated by
vow, &c.
Shelomish (*1
Chr.* 26. 26.)

Cohath, Shebuel of
*Moses, Gershon, Fe-
hiel, Merari, Abiah.*

Officers and
Judges.

Over all the Porters was *Chenaniah* (*1 Chron.* 26. 29.
15. 22, 27.) It is to be remembred that besides *Za-
dock* the High-Priest, and *Abimelech* (the second) we
find

find mention of *Hashabiah* the sonne of *Kemuel*, as chief of the whole Tribe (*1 Chron. 27. 17.*) so that there was

One over the Ark,	<i>Zadock.</i>
The second over the Tabernacle,	<i>Abimelech.</i>
The third over the Tribe,	<i>Hashabiah.</i>

As over the

Levites Ministers,

Judges,

Officers,

Singers,

Porters,

Fehdaiah.

Chasabiah.

Shemaiah.

Heman.

Chenaniah.

OR

Benaiab.

Agreeable to this form we read, that under *Josias* there were three * *Rulers of the House of God*, that is *Hilkiah*, *Zachariah*, and *Fehiel* (*2 Chron. 35. 8.*) and that the Levites had over them six *over* (*2 Chron. 35. 9.*)

Again under *Zedekiah*, that there were carried into Captivity *Seraiah* the Chief Priest, and *Zephaniah* the second Priest (*2 King. 25. 18.*)

Likewise under *Ezekiah*, at the provision for the Levites portions, there were 10, * *over* — OR *Overseers* of the Levites : over whom was *Conaniah* the * *Chief*, and *Shimei* the * *Second* : And so *Kore* over voluntary Offerings; and six Levites under him (*2 Chron. 31. 12, 13. &c.*)

The

The Form of Government under NEHEMIAH.

OF whom, and *Esdra* it is recorded, that they did all according to *Moses* institution (*Ezra* 6. 18.) (*Nehemiah* 10. 34. 36.)

There was then { *Eliaſha*, the * High Priest (*Nehemiah* 3. 1.)
 Seraiah, the * ruler of the house of God, 11. 11)
 Zabdiel, the * Overseer of the Priests, 11. 14)

The Courses were then but XXII (*Nehemiah* 12. 12.)

There was then { *Uzzi*, * the Overseer of the Levites (*Nehemiah* 11. 22.
 Fezrahia, * the Overseer of the Singers (*Nehemiah* 12. 42.
 Shallum, the chief of the Porters (*1 Chro.* 9. 17.

Under *Zabdiel* { *Adaiash* } (*Nehem.* 11,
 Amasai } ver. 12-13.)

Under *Uzzi* { *Shemaiah*
 Sabbethai } (*Nehem.* 11. 15, 16.)
 Foxabad }

Under *Fezrahiah* { *Mattaniah*
 Bakbukiah } (*Nehem.* 11. 17.
 Abda }

Under

Under Shallum { Akkub. } (1 Chron. 9. 17.)
 { Talmon. } (Nehem. 11. 19.)
 So that there was

1. The high-Priest,
2. The Second, and Third, Overseers of the Priests,
3. The Princes of the Priests * Ezra 8. 29.
4. The Priests,
5. The Overseer of the Levites,
6. The Princes of the Levites,
7. The Levites,
8. The Heads of the Nethinims,
9. The Nethinims of { the Gibeonites,
 { Solomons Servant.

A brief Recapitulation of the Degrees observed under the Government of the Old Testament, with an accommodation thereof unto the New.

OUt of these we gather this Form to have been
 I. Moses in whom was the Supream Jurisdiction; to visit Aaron (Numb. 3. 10.)

II. Aaron the High Priest (Levit. 21. 20. Numb. 35. 28. Nehem. 3. 1.)

head (2 Cron. 19. 11.)

Prince of the House of God (2 Chron. 9. 11.)

III. Eleazar the Second (2 King. 25. 18.) as there Zerophaniab is said to be.

Prelate of Prelates (Num. 3. 22.)

Chief Overseer, or Bishop (Jer. 20. 1.)

At his hand Ithamar.

IV. Prince of the Tribe (1 Chron. 27. 17)

V. Elizaphan.

Recapitulation of

V. *Elizaphan, Eliasaph, Zuriel.**Prelates (Num. 3. 24 &c.)**Overseers or Bishops (Nehem. 11. 14. 22.)*
*6. 12. 32.*VI. *In the XXIV. courses set by David;**The Princes of the Priests. Ezra 8. 29.**Gouvernours of*The house $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Of God.} \\ \text{Of the Sanctuary,} \end{array} \right\}$ *1 Chron. 24. 5.**Elders of the Priests, Jeremias 19. 1. (2 Kings 19. 2.)**Heads of the Families, (Nehemiah 12. 12.)**Chief Priests, (Acts 19. 14.)*VII. *The Priests themselves.**Whether at Jerusalem, or in the Country Towns*
*(2 Chron. 3. 19.)*VIII. *The Overseer of the Levites (Nehem. 11. 22.)*IX. *The Princes of the Levites (1 Chron. 15. 5.)*
*(2 Chron. 31. 12. and 35. 9.) Nehem. 12. 22.)*X. *The Head of the Levites Officers. The Scribe,**
*(2 Chron. 31. 13.)*** Of the Singers, (1 Chron. 16. 5.) Nehem. 12. 42.**Of the Porters, (1 Chron. 9. 17. and 15. 22.)**Of the Treasurers, (1 Chron. 26. 24. 2 Chron. 21. 11.)*XI. *The Levites themselves.*XII. *The Chief of the Nethinims, (Nehem. 11. 21.)*XIII. The Nethinims $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Gibeonites, (Josua 9. 21.)} \\ \text{Solomons servants, (1 King. 9. 21.} \\ \text{Nehem. 7. 60.)} \end{array} \right.$ It is not only requisite that things be *done*, but that
they

This answer I find ordered by the Author to be thus put instead of that which had been in a former copy.

"life time, was never by any in this point reputed a Type of Christ, so that though Aaron be accounted such, yet Eleazar will serve our purpose. As also (2 Chron. 35, 8.) We read of three at once, one only, of which was the High Priest, and a Type of Christ, the rest were not, let them then answer to the other twaine, who were Rulers, or chief over the House of God.

This also the Author hath added to be put unto the former answer

Thus we grant, that Aaron and the High Priests after him were Types of Christ, and that Christ at his death ended that Type; yet affirm, that Eleazar being *Prælatas Prælatorum*, governing and directing the Ecclesiastical persons under him, and being subject to Moses was not any Type of Christ; further we say, that the Twelve Apostles as so many several Eleazars under Christ, were in the Primitive times sent to several Coasts of the world to govern, direct and teach Ecclesiastical persons and people in their several Divisions. We say also that many Primates now, as so many Eleazars under Christ, and in several Kingdoms and States of the world, are to govern, direct, and teach Ecclesiastical persons, and people in their several divisions; and yet be under and responsible to Christian Princes and States, who have the chief charge of matters both Civil and Ecclesiastical.

Object.

If it be further alledged, that Eleazar and all Sacrificing Priests (*quatenus* Sacrificers) were Types of Christ, who sacrificed himself for us, and put an end to all Sacrifices typing himself.

Ans.

This we grant, and further say, that the Popish sacrificing Priests, Office, and other performance in this regard, is utterly unlawful and sinful. But the other Employments of Eleazar, viz. His Governing, Directing and

and *teaching* both the Ecclesiastical persons and the people, were not *typical* nor *ended*, but are still of use, for the *Apostles* practiced the same; so have their *Successors* to these very days. And that this is most true, the *Presbyterial Classes* cannot but grant; for this very *Authority over Ministers* and people, they use, and therefore judge it not *Typical*.

Besides *St. Paul* appearing before one, but a weak resemblance of the old High Priest, yielded him *obedience*, and acknowledged him a Governor of the people, which had been merely *unlawful*, if there had not remained in him something not *Typical*, and not made to cease by Christ.

Hence we see the *Anabaptists* shifts to be vain and gross, when they say we ought to have no *Wars*, for the *Jews wars* were but *Figures* of our *spiritual battle*; No *Magistrates*, for the *Jews Magistrates* were but *Figures* of our *Pastors, Doctors and Deacons*; and as no *Magistrates*, so no *Oaths*, pretending these to be abolished by Christ: *Answ.* As in the *Priests Office* there were *Answ.* some things not *Typical*, nor ended: So *Kings, Types of Christ*, in something only prefigured, and Typed him. In many things their Office is still of singular use, for they become *Nursing Fathers of the Church*, and provide that we may live a *peaceable life in all Godliness and Honesty*. The lawfull use of *Wars and Oaths* hath been often vindicated.

If the *Pope* here claim authority over all the world, as *Eleazar* over all his brethren, his Plea is *groundless, wicked and insolent*. For, first, each chief *Bishop* in any Kingdom, must be subject to the King, as *Aaron and Eleazar* to *Moses*. 2. The *Apostles* sent into several

Recapitulation of

Kingdoms of the World were all of *equal* power no one had Authority *above* the rest in their line, or division which shews that no *Primate* ought to be of Authority over any *other* Primate under a several Prince. But each *Primate* subject to *Christ* as *Eleazar* to *Aaron*, and each *Primate* subject to his several King. As *Eleazar* to *Moses*.

2. *Why it may be.*

I. Out of *Dic. Ecclesia*, the *New Reformers* tell us, we are to fetch our pattern from the Jewish *Sauhedrim* therefore it seems they are of opinion, that one Form may serve both *us* and *them*.

II. Except there should be such a fashion of government, consisting of *inequality*. I see not in the new Testament, how any could *perish* in that contradiction of *Core*, which *St Jude* affirmeth, for his plea was for equality; and against the preferring of *Aaron* above the rest.

III. The *Ancient Fathers*, seem to be of ^{his} mind, that the same Form should serve both.

So thinketh *St. Cyprian* lib. 3. epist. 9. ad *Rogatianum*.

So *St Hierome*. Epist. 85. Ad *Evagrium*, *traditiones Apostolicae sumptae sunt de veteri Testamento, & ad Nepotianum: de vita Clericorum.*

So *St. Leo*. Ita veteris Testamenti Sacramenta distinxit, ut quaedam ex iis, sicut erant condita, Evangelica eruditioni profutura decerneret, ut quae dudum fuerant consuetudines *Judaicae*, fierent obsevancia *Christiana*.

So *Rabanus*, de institutione Clericorum (lib. I. c. 6.)

They

They ground this their opinion upon that they see

I. That the *Synagogue* is called a *Type*, or *Shadow*, and [an image of the Church now Heb. 10. vers. 1.]

II. That God himself saith of the *Christian Church*, under the *Gentiles* that he will take of the *Gentiles*, and make them *Priests* and *Levites* to himself (Esa. 66. 22.) there calling our *Presbyters* and *Deacons* by those *Le-gall* names.

III. That there is an Agreement in the	Numbers	XII. Numb. 1. 16. and Luk. 9. 8.
		LXX. Numb. 11. 16. and Luk. 10. 1.
	Names	Angell, Mal. 2. 7. and Rev. 1. 10.
Degrees	{ Aaron. Eleazar. Princes of Priests. Priests. Princes of Levites Levites. Nethinims. }	{ Christ. Archbishops. Bishops. Presbyters. Archdeacons. Deacons. Clerks & Sextons. }
		Answerable unto

* And their often enterchange, and indifferent using of Priest or Presbyter: Levite or Deacon, sheweth They presumed a Correspondence, and Agreement between them.

The



The FORM
OF
Church-Government,
In the
NEW TESTAMENT.

And first in the days of our Saviour Christ.

I. **T**HE whole Ministrie of the *New Testament* was at the first invested in *Christ alone*.

He is term- ed our	{	Apostle (Heb. 3. 1.)
		Prophet. (Deut. 18. 15. Act. 3. 22.)
		Evangelist (Esa. 41. 27.)
		Bishop and * Pastor (1 Pet. 2. 25.)
		Doctor (Mat. 23. 10.)
		Deacon. (Rom. 15. 8.)

II. When

The Form of Church Government

49

II. When the *Harvest* was great (Mat. 9. 38.) that his Personall presence could not attend all, he took unto him XII, as the XII. *Patriarchs* or XII. *Fountains*, Exod. 14. 27. as St *Ferome*, or the XII. *Princes* of the Tribes Numb. 33. 9. (Num. 1.)

Gathering his Disciples	Mat. 10. 1.
Choosing out of them.	Luke 6. 13.
Whom he would	Mark. 3. 13.
He called them to him.	Luke 6. 13.
Made them.	Mark 3. 13.
Named them Apostles.	Luke 6. 13.

These he began to send (Mark 6. 7.)
 Gave them in charge (Matt. 10. 1. and 11. 1.)
 To preach the Gospel (Luke 9. 2.)
 To heal (Matt. 10. 1. Luke 9. 2.)
 To cast out Devils (Matt. 10. 1.)

Gave them Power,
 To take maintenance (Matt. 10. 10. Luke 9. 2.)
 To shake off the dust, for a witness (Matt. 10. 14.)
 So he sent them (Matt. 10. 5. Luke 9. 1.)
 They went and preached (Luke 9. 6.)

They returned and made relation,
 What they had $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Done} \\ \text{Taught} \end{array} \right\}$ Mark. 6. 30.

III. After this, when the *Harvest* grew so great, as that the XII. sufficed not all, Luke 10. 1, 2. he took unto him other LXX, as the 70. *Palm trees*, Num. 33. 9. the *Fathers of Families*, Gen. 46. the *Elders*, Num. 11.

These

These he

Declared, (Luke 10. 1.)

Sent by two and two into every City and place whether he himself would come, ibid.

Gave them power, as to the Apostle, to

Take maintenance, Luke 10. 7.

Shake off dust, Luke 10. 11.

Heal the sick, } (Luke 10. 19.)
Preach,

Tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the Enemy (Luke 10. 19.)

These two Orders (as I think) St. Paul Ephes. 3. 5. doth comprehend under the name of *Apostles* and *Prophets*, by the LXX. understanding *Prophets*, as where-soever they are both mentioned together, next to the *Apostles* he placeth *Prophets* (1 Corinth. 12. 28. Eph. 4. 11.)

None of the Fathers ever doubted, that these two were two several Orders or Sorts, nor that the Apostles were superior to the LXX.

It appeareth also that (the *Apostles*) had in them power to forbid to preach, Luke 9. 49. and that *Matthias* was exalted from the other order to the *Apostleship*.

This was then the Order while *Christ* was upon the earth.

I. *Christ* himself.

II. The XII. were sent to all Nations. Their successors were *Bishops* placed and settled in several Nations.

III. The

III. The LXX. were sent by *Christ* to the particular Cities of the Jewes, to prepare them for *Christ*, with his *Apostles* comming to them. Their Successors were *Presbyters* placed in particular Cities and Towns by the *Apostles*, that they might prepare the hearts of many Christians for the receipt and employment of an *Angel* or *Bishop* over the severall *Presbyters*.

IV. The faithfull people, or Disciples, of whom 500. and more are mentioned in (1 *Corinth.* 15. 6.) * *though at the time of the electing of Matthias, and the Holy Ghost's descending, there were but CXX. present (Acts 1. 15.)*

The Form of Government used in the time of the
APOSTLES.

Albeit *Christ* saith, the people were as *Sheep* without a *Shepherd* (*Mat.* 9. 38.) yet he termeth his *Apostles* *Harvest-men*, not *Shepherds*; for while he was in person on earth, himself only was the *Shepherd*. And they but *Arietes Gregis*, but at his departure he maketh them *Shepherds* (*John.* 21. 15.) as they likewise others at theirs (1 *Pet.* 5. 2. *Acts* 28.)

Of the APOSTLES themselves, and first of their names.

Shelicha, which is the *Syrian* name, was the title of certain *Legats* or *Commissioners* sent from the *High-Priest*, to visit the *Jews* and their *Synagogues*, which
R were

The Form of Government.

were dispersed in other Countries, with authority to redress things amiss.

Ἀπόστολοι among the *Greeks* were (ἐν τῇ ἐκτομῇ τῶν χειρῶν ἀποδεδειγμένοι into *Delfhos*, an Office of great credit, as by *Herodotus* and *Demosthenes* appeareth.

Secondly of their form what it is.

Not to have been with *Christ* all his life time, *Acts* 1. 21. so were others more.

Not to be sent immediately of *Christ*, *Gab.* 1. 1. so were the *LXX.* (*Luke* 10.)

Not to be limited to one place (*Matt.* 28. 19.) so were others, *Luke* 24. 33. 50.

Not to be inspired of God, so that they did not erre, so were *Mark* and *Luke*.

Not to plant Churches, so did *Phillip the Evangelist* (*Acts* 8. 5.)

Not to work signes and Miracles : So did *Stephen.* (*Acts.* 6. 8.) and *Philip* (*Acts.* 8. 6.)

But over and above these, or with these that eminent authority or jurisdiction which they had over all, not only jointly together, but every one * severally by himself.

I. Of Imposing hands in { Ordination (*Acts* 6. 6.)
Confirmation (*Acts* 8. 17.
18.)

II. Of Commanding (the word of the Bench *Acts* 4. 18. & 5. 28.

Of *Casars*, *Acts* 18. 2.)

The word of Gods command, 1 *Cor.* 9. 14. 1 *Thess.* 4. 11. 2 *Thess.* 3. 6. 12.

Of *Christ*s *Acts* 1. 2, 4.

Of

[Of the *Prophets*, *Acts* 5. 32.

Of the *Apostles* *Phil.* 8.

The Apostles ordained matters in *Churches*, *1 Cor.*

7. 17. & 11. 34.

The Commandments of the Apostles of Christ the

Lord are to be kept *1 Cor.* 14. 37. *2 Pet.* 3. 2.]

III. Of Countermanding (*Luke* 9. 49. *Acts.* 15. 24.

1 Tim. 2. 12.)

IV. Of Censuring,

{ *Virga* *1 Cor.* 4. 21. *2 Cor.* 13. 10.

Gladius, *Gal.* 5. 12.

Tradendi Satanae, *1 Cor.* 5. 5. 11.

1 Tim. 1. 20.

{ *Claves*, *Matt.* 16. 19. *Sit tibi* with

18. 18. and *John* 20. 23.)

In this power it is, that the *Bishops* succeed the *Apostles*, 1. *Iren.* lib. 3. cap. 3. 2. *Tertul.* de praescript. 3. 3. *Cyprian* ad Florent. 3. 9. 4. *Epiphan.* Hares. 27. *Roma fuerunt primi Petrus & Paulus Apostoli iidem ac Episcopi*, 2. *Chrysost.* in *Act.* 3. *Facobus Episcopus fuit Hierosolima.* 6. *Hieronym.* *Epist.* 85. & 54. ad *Marcellam de Montano*, & de scriptoribus, *Ecclesiast.* in *Petro & Facobo*. 7. *Ambrose* in *1 Corinth.* 11. (de *Angelis*) & in *Eph.* 4. (*Apostoli Episcopi sunt*).

Of Deacons.

At the beginning the whole weight of the Churches affairs lay upon the *Apostles*.

The Distribution { As well of the Sacrament (*Act.* 2. 42.)

{ As of the oblations (*Acts* 4. 35)

R 2

The

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(4) If 7 deacons had power given them to do all left out Act. 6. 4. from
they had power of br. The Ordination (Acts 6. 6.)
dination, of Government (Acts 5. 3.)

most and conse- Widows were not duly regarded in the daily ministrati-
cations, for all tion, which was as well of the Sacrament as of the Obla-
these are gone tions, otherwise the Apostles would not have left out (K)
left out. (the mention of) the Sacrament in Act. 6. 4. They
transferred that part upon the 7. Deacons whom they
ordained for distribution of the Sacrament, not for

The supposed
Author in his
advertisements
concerning
this passage,
saith,
This I know not
well what way
to make more
clear.

Consecration. * For that the Deacons dealt not only with
alms, 'tis acknowledged by all the Primitive Church.

Justin Apolog. 2. Ignatius ad Heron. Tertull. de Bap-
tismo, Cyprian de Lapsis, & lib. 3. epist. 9. Chrysost.
hom. 83. in. Matth. Hieron. epist. 48. ad Sabinam, &
contra Lucifer. Ambr. Offic. lib. 1. c. 41. Greg. 4. 88.
Concil. Nican. 1 Can. 14. 1 Tim. 3. 12, 13.

of EVANGELISTS.

Evangelista 2. 2. Upon occasion of the scattering of the Disciples, by
1. Lm Evangelist. means of the persecution after the death of St. Stephen
scribit, sic makt grew discipulis in angeli (Acts 8. 4. & II. 19.) of
us, Marcy & c. which number St. Phillip is reckoned (Acts 8. 21.) and
Evangelista. 2. divers others Acts 11. 19, 20. of whom Eusebius ma-
keth mention lib. 3. cap. 37. and lib. 5. cap. 10.

Lm annuntiat. Upon these was transferred that part of the Apostles
sic Phillipus, function which consisted in preaching from place to
et de quibus Ric place.

Legimus. 2. 2. Electio per sortes, Acts 1. 10.
et nomina munda Per populi suffragia, Acts 6. 6.
et officij extrodia Per spiritum sanctum, Act. 13. 2.
nary, 2. Ordini aut jurisdictionis ordi-
naria.

The supposed Author in his
Advertisements put this out
here, saying [This I thought
might better make a chapter of
it self: See infra, the last
chapter of all.]

When

OF PRIESTS.

When the Church was in some sort planted by the preaching of the *Apostles*, *Prophets* and *Evangelists*, that they might continually be watered, and have a standing attendance, the *Apostles* ordained them *Priests* by imposition of hands in every Church, *Acts* 14. 23. & 11. 30. & 21. 18. And they made choice of the word *ἐπίσκοπος*, rather than of the word *πρεσβυτερος*, more in use with the *Greeks*, because it includeth an *Embassie*, and that chiefly of *reconciliation*, which is the *μεσολαβη* expressed by St. Paul in 2 *Cor.* 5. 20. with *Luke* 14. 32. [and thence they were called *Presbyters*.]

OF BISHOPS.

Last of all, that the Churches thus planted and watered might so continue, the *Apostles* ordained *Overseers* to have a generall care over the Churches, instead of themselves, who had first had the same, which is called *ἐπίσκοπος*, *Acts* 15. 36. and containeth in it, as a *strengthening* or *establishing* in that which is already well (*Acts* 14. 22. & 15. 41. *Rev.* 3. 2.) so a *rectifying* or *redressing* it ought be defective or amiss, *Tit.* 1. 5.

These are called by the *Apostles*, *Acts* 20. 28. *ἐπίσκοποι*, in the *Syrian*, that is *Episcopi*, by St. John *Rev.* 1. 20. *the Angels of the Churches*. These were set over others both to rule and teach, 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. 1 *Pet.* 5. 2.

Upon these was transferred the chief part of the *Apostolick* function.

The

The Form of Government^a

The Oversight of the Church.

The power of $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ommanding,} \\ \text{orrecting,} \\ \text{Ordaining,} \end{array} \right.$

The occasion which caused the *Apostles* to appoint *Bishops* (besides the pattern set by Gods Ordinance in the time of the Law) seemeth to have been *Schisms*, such as were in the Churches of

Rome, Rom. 16. 17.

Corinth, 1 Cor. 1. 11. and 3. 3, 4.

Galatia, Gall. 5. 12.

Ephesus, Eph. 4. 2, 3.

Philippi, Phil. 4. 2.

Colossi, Col. 3. 13.

Thessalonica, 2 Theff. 3. 11.

The Hebrews, Heb. 13. 9. James 3. 1.

For which St. Cyprian, S. Jerome, and all the Fathers take the respect to one Governor, to be an especial remedy (for which also see Calvin, Instit. lib. 4. cap. 4. 8. 2.)

Acts 5. 5. 15.

13. 11. 19. 2.

1. 16. 46.

Acts 14. 11. 8.

13. 5. 11. 13.

This power even in the *Apostles* time was necessary, for God chaigeth not his Church with superfluous burdens, yet had they such *graces* (as power of healing, doing *signes*, sundry languages, &c. that they of all other might seem best able to want it; for by these *graces* they purchased both admiration and terrour sufficient for crediting of their bare word, in the whole Church.

If necessary then in their times that were so furnished,
much

much more in the Ages ensuing, when all these extraordinary *graces* ceased, and no means but it, to keep things in order. So that were it not apparent to have been in the *Apostles* times, yet the necessity of the times following, destitute of these helps, might enforce it.

Seeing then God hath no less care for the *propagation* and *continuance* of his Church, then for the first *settling* or *planting* of it, *Eph.* 4. 13. it must needs follow, that the power was not *personal* in the *Apostles*, as tyed to them only, but a power given to the Church, and in them for their times resident, but not ending with them as *temporary*, but common to the ages after, and continuing, to whom it was more needfull then to them) to repress Schism, and to remedy other abuses.

So that the very same power at this day remaineth in the Church, and shall to the worlds end.

*Of the PERSONS * (that executed these Offices.*

I. Albeit the *Commission* were generall over all Nations, which was given to the XII. yet was that generality only by *permission*, not expressly *mandatory*. Else should they have sinned, that went not through all Nations.

Therefore howsoever the *Commission* was to all Nations, yet was it left to their *discretion* how, and in what sort they would dispose themselves, as the Holy Ghost should direct them.

Therefore that partition *Gal.* 2. 9. betwixt St. Peter and St. Paul was lawfull and good, and no wayes derogatory to *its* *pradicate*, *Goe teach all Nations.*

Further the *Ecclesiasticall History* doth testifie, that they

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they parted the Coasts and Countries of the world among them by common advice, and so sundred themselves.

Peter to Pontus, Galatia, Capadocia.

John to Asia, Parthia.

Andrew to Cythia, Pontus, Euxinus & Bizantium.

Phillip to Upper Asia, unto Hierapolis.

Thomas to India, Persia, and the Magi.

Bartholomew to Armenia, Lycaonia, India citerior.

Mathew to (Ethiopia.)

Simeon to Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt, Afrique, Britany.

Thaddeus to Arabia, Faumea, Mesopotamia.

Matthias to Eshiochia. Soc. I. 15.

2. Again albeit their preaching was for the most ambulatory; yet do the same Histories witness that having settled Religion, and brought the Church to some stay, towards their end, they betook themselves to residence in some one place, divers of them, as

St James at Jerusalem (Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 1. Epiphani. Hares. 66. Chrysost. in Act. 15. Hierom. Chrysost. in Acts 15.)

St. John at Ephesus, Euseb. 3. 26. Tertul. lib. 4. contra Marcion, Hierom.

St. Peter first at Antioch, and after at Rome.

Which places were more specially accounted their Sees, and the Churches themselves after a more special manner were called Apostolick.

Sedes Apostolorum. August in Epist. 42.

Ecclesia Apostolica. Tertullian.

3. It

3. It is also plain, that the *Apostles* * while they lived chose unto them as *Helpers* (συνοδοὶ) divers who were companions with them in their Journies ministred unto them, and supplied their absences in divers Churches, when they were occasioned * themselves to depart.

Such were,

* <i>Andronicus</i> (Rom. 16. 17.)	15. 37. & <i>Philem.</i> 24.)
<i>Apollos</i> (Acts 19. 1.)	<i>Lucas</i> (<i>Philem.</i> 24. <i>Col.</i> 4.
1 Cor. 3. 6.	14.
<i>Aquila</i> (Rom. 16. 3.)	<i>Secundus</i> (Act. 20. 4.)
<i>Archippus</i> Phil. 2. (Col. 4.	<i>Silvanus</i> (1 Pet. 5. 12.)
17.)	(1 Thes. 1. 2. 2 Thes. 11.)
<i>Aristarchus</i> (Acts 20. 4.)	<i>Sopater</i> (Acts 20. 4.)
<i>Clemens</i> (Phil. 3. 4.)	<i>Softheims</i> (1 Cor. 1. 1.)
<i>Crescence</i> (2 Tim. 4. 10.)	* <i>Stachys</i> (Rom. 6. 9.)
<i>Demetrius</i> (3 John 12.)	<i>Stephanus</i> (1 Cor. 16. 15.
<i>Epaphras</i> (Col. 4. 12. &c.	* <i>Tertius</i> (Rom. 16. 22.)
1. 7. & <i>Philem.</i> 24.)	<i>Timotheus</i> (Acts 19. 22. &
<i>Epaphroditus</i> (Phil. 2. 23.)	20. 4.)
<i>Epanetus</i> (Rom. 16. 5.)	<i>Titus</i> (2 Cor. 8. 23.)
<i>Brastus</i> (Acts 19. 22.)	<i>Trophimus</i> (Acts 20. 4.)
<i>Gajus</i> (Acts 20. 4.)	<i>Tychicus</i> (Acts 20. 4.)
<i>Fesús Fustus</i> (Col. 4. 11.)	* <i>Col.</i> 4. 7.
<i>Fohn Marke</i> (Acts 13. 5. & <i>Urbanus</i> (Rom. 16. 9.)	

Of whom *Eusebius*, lib. 3. Hist. cap. 4. *Euthymius* in tertium Johannis. *Ilydorus* de patrib. *Dorothei* Synopsis.

S

* To

* To these, as namely to *Timothy* and *Titus* (two of these) one at *Ephesus*, the other in *Crete*, *Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 4.* The *Apostles* imparted their own Commission while they yet lived; even the chief Authority they had.

To appoint *Priests*, *Titus* 1. 5. & *Hieron.* in eum locuni.

To ordain them by laying on of hands, 1 *Tim.* 5. 22.
2 *Tim.* 2. 2.

To keep safe and preserve the *Depositum*, 1 *Tim.* 6. 14.
20. 1 *Tim.* 1. 14.

To command not to teach other things, 1 *Tim.* 1. 3.
Titus 3. 9. 2 *Tim.* 2. 16.

To receive accusations, 1 *Tim.* 5. 19. 21.

To redress or correct things amiss, *Titus* 1. 5.

To reject young *Widdows*, 1 *Tim.* 5. 11.

To censure *Hereticks*, and *disordered* persons; *Titus* 1.
11. and 3. 10. 1 *Tim.* 6. 5. 2 *Tim.* 3. 5.

And these after the *Apostles* deceased, succeeded them in their charge of Government, which was Ordinary, Successive, and perpetual. Their extraordinary gifts of *Miracles* and *Tongues* ceasing with them. So *Irenaeus* lib. 3. cap. 3. *Quos & successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum Magisteris tradentes.*

Of the promiscuous use of their Names.

THEse were they whom posterity called *Bishops*, but in the beginning regard was not had to distinction of Names, the Authority and power was ever distinct

under Bishops,

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strict, the Name not restrained either in this or others.

The Apostles called

Priests, or Seniors 1 Pet. 5. 1.

Deacons or Ministers 1 Cor. 3. 5.

Teachers or Doctors 1 Tim. 2. 7.

Bishops or Overseers Acts 1. 20.

Prophets Acts 13. 1 Rev. 22. 9.

Evangelists 1 Cor. 9. 16. 9.

The name of Apostle was enlarged and made common to more then the XII.

To Barnabas Acts 14. 4. 14.

Andronicus Rom. 16. 7.

Epaphroditus Phil. 2. 25.

Titus and others 2 Cor. 8. 23.

Timothy (Hierom, in Cantic. Chro. Euseb.)

The Priests were called

Prophets (1 Cor. 14. 32.

Bishops Phil. 1. 4. Titus 1. 7.

So Chrysost. in Phil. 1. *Quid hoc? an unius civitatis multi erant Episcopi, nequaquam sed Presbyteros isto nomine appellavit, tunc enim nomina adhuc erant communia.*

Hierom. *Hic Episcopos, Presbyteros intelligimus; non enim in una urbe plures Episcopi esse possent.*

Theodoret. *Ne fieri quidem poterat, ut multi Episcopi essent unius civitatis pastores, quo fit ut essent Presbyteri quos vocavit Episcopos. Et in 1 Tim. 3. Eosdem olim vocabant Episcopos & Presbyteros; eos autem qui nunc vocantur Episcopi, nominabant Apostolos.*

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Oecumenius : *Non quod in una civitate multi essent Episcopi, sed Episcopos vocat Presbyteros, tunc enim nominibus--adhuc communicabant.*

For in the *Apostles* absence in Churches new planted, the oversight was in them, till the Apostles ordained, and sent them a *Bishop*, either by reason of some *Schisme*, or for other causes.

The *Bishops* as the Ecclesiastical History recounteth them, were called,

Apostles Phil. 2. 25.

Evangelists 2 Tim. 4. 5.

Deacons 1 Tim. 4. 6.

Priests 1 Tim. 4. 17.

For it is plain by the Epistle of *Irenaeus* to *Victor* in *Eusebius* lib. 5. cap. 25. that they at the beginning were called *Priests*, that in very truth, and propriety of Speech were indeed *Bishops*, and by *Theodoret*, Phil. 2. 25. That they that were *Bishops* were at first called *Apostles*.

The name (*ἐπισκοπος*) saith *Suidas* was given by the *Athenians* to them, which were sent to Oversee the cities that were under their Jurisdiction, *οἱ τῶν ἀθηναιῶν ἐπισκοποὶ* τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς πόλεων ἐπισκοποῦντες τὸ πρὸς ἑαυτοῖς περὶ τῶν ἐπισκοποῦντων ἐπισκοπῶν, *Suid.* in *ἐπισκοπῶν* [Rodigin. 18. 3.]

The name *Episcopus* was given among the *Romans* to him qui praerat panis, & vernalibus ad victum quotidianum *F. de muneribus & honoribus*, *Cicero ad Atticum* lib. 7. Epist. 10. vult me Pompeius esse quem tota hac *Campania, & maritima ora* habeat *Episcopum*.

The name in Hebrew *עֲרֵב* Gen. 41. 34. seemeth

eth to have relation to the second use, for they were such as had charge of the grain, laying up and selling under Joseph.

The use of the BISHOPS Office, and the charge committed to him.

The party, who in the New Testament is called *Episcopus*, is in the Old, called *קֹדֶשׁ* the Office in the New *Επισκοπή*, 1 Tim. 3. 1. in the old *קֹדֶשׁ* Psalm. 109. 8. with Acts 1. 20.

In a House or Family it is affirmed of Joseph, Gen. 39. 4. who had the oversight and government of the rest of the Servants.

In a House there be many Servants which have places of charge Matt. 25. 14. but there is one that hath the charge of all * Luk. 12. 42. that is *Oeconomus* the Steward.

So doe the Apostles term themselves, 1 Cor. 4. 1.

And their Office *Οικονομίας*, 1 Cor. 9. 17.

And their successors the Bishops, Tit. 1. 7. 9.

Vide Hilar. in Matt. 24. 45.

In a Flock the Pastor, John 21. 15. Acts 20. 28. Matt. 25. 32. 1. Pet. 3. 2. Eph. 4. 11.

In a Camp, the Captain *ἡγεμὼν*, Matt. 2. 6. Heb. 13. 7. 17. 24.

In a Ship the Governor * *κυβερνήτης*, 1 Cor. 12. 28. under whom there are * *ὑποτάκτοι*, Acts 13. 5.

In the Common-wealth they be such as are set over Officers, to hasten them forward, and so they doe their duties, as in 2 Chron. 34. 13. & 31. 13. Nehemiah 11. 22. & 12. 42.

So

*Vid. Hieron.
Epist. 4. a 1
indicum. c. 6.
Et Epist. ad
Evangelium.*

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So that what a *Steward* is in a *House*,

A *Pastor* in a *Flock*,

A *Captain* in a *Camp*,

A *Master* in a *Ship*,

A *Surveyor* in an *Office*,

That is a *Bishop* in the *Ministry*.

Upon him lieth first * (*κατὰ*) the care of the Churches under him, 2 *Cor.* 11. 28. *Phil.* 2. * *Concil. Antiochen. can. 9.* * *Act.* 9. 32. & 15. 36. (and to be ob-servant.)

* II. *Διακονία*, the visiting of them, *Act.* 9. 32. & 15. 36.

* And in both these {
 I. *Επιστημονή* (*Tikkun*) * the confirm-
 ing of that which is well and order-
 ly *Act.* 15. 41. *Rev.* 3. 2.
 II. *Επιόρθωσις* (*Manuscatio*) the re-
 dressing which is otherwise (*Tit.*
 1. 5.)

To him was committed principally

I. Authority of *Ordaining*, *Tit.* 1. 5. and so of beget-
 ting *Fathers*, *Epipha. Hares.* 75. See *Ambros. Theodo-*
ret and *Oecumenius* in 1 *Tim.* 3. *Damasus Epist.* 3. *Fer-*
romus Epist. 85. *ad Evag.* *Leo Epist.* 88. *Concil. Ancy-*
ran. Can. 12. al. 13.

(a) μετὰ ἐκδύ-
 σινος τοῦ ἁγίου
 πνεύματος
 (b) πλὴν τῆς
 ἐκκλησίας τοῦ
 κυρίου ἡμῶν
 1 *Tim.* 1. 6.

For though St. *Paul* should mention a *Company*
 * together (a) with him at the *Ordaining* of *Timothy*,
 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. yet it followeth not but that he only
 was * the *Ordainer*. No more, then that *Christ* is the
 only *Judge*, although the XII. shall sit with him on
Thrones, *Luke* 22. 30.

II. Au-

- II. Authority of *enjoining* or *forbidding*, 1 Tim. 1.
 3. Ignatius ad *Magnesia*, Cyprian *Epist.* 39.
 III. Authority of holding Courts, and receiving *accusations* 1 Tim. 5. 19. 1 Cor. 5. 12. *Revel.* 2. 2. *Augustin. de opere Monachorum* cap. 24.
 IV. Authority of *Correcting*, 1 Tim. 5. 3. *Museus Episcopalis Tit.* 1. 5. Hieron. contra *Lucifer* cap. 4. & *Epist.* 53. ad *Riparium*, Cyprian *Epist.* 38. ad *Rogatianum*.
 V. Authority of *Appointing Fasts*, Tertullian *adversus Psychicos*.

The Choice of persons to their calling.

- [1. The *Apostles* were immediately called by *Christ*.
 2. For the calling of *Matthias* the Apostle *Peter* gave direction; two persons were propounded by the 120. the chief and constant disciples of *Christ*, but he was designed to his place by a *sacred Lot*.
 3. Some were *chosen* and appointed to their callings by the *Holy Ghost*, *Acts* 11. 12. *Acts* 13. 2. *Acts* 8. 29. *Acts* 20. 28.

This is added
by the supposed
Author.

4. In choice of the *Seven Deacons* who were credited with the provision for such as wanted, the multitude of the *Chief*, and constant *Disciples* of *Christ*, and the *Apostles* who were contributors of the same, present 7. persons, the *Apostles* ordain them *Deacons*.
 5. The *Apostles* chose to themselves *Helpers*, *fellow-Servants* of *Christ*, *fellow-Souldiers*, and the like, *Acts* 15. 5. *Rom.* 16. 9. 2 *Cor.* 8. 23. *Call.* 4. 7. *Tit.* 1. 5. So *Timothy* well reported of is taken by *Paul*, *Act.* 16. 2. 3.

The

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6. The *Apostles* chose such as were their *Attendants*,
 or *Ministers*, and sent them to severall Churches and
 People, *Acts* 19. 22. *2 Tim.* 4. 10. 12. *2 Cor.* 12. 17.
1 Thess. 3. 2. and lett some to abide in Churches where
 was need of their help. *1ss.* 1. 5. *Col.* 20. *Acts* 18. 19.
1 Tim. 1. 3.]

A LET.



A LETTER of Dr. *Hadrianus Saravia*, to the Ministers of the Isle of *Garnsay*; written in French and translated into English.

Grace and Peace from Jesus Christ our Lord.

Gentlemen and wel-beloved Brethren in the Lord, my calling doth oblige me to procure the good and the true edification of the Churches of Christ Jesus, and chiefly of those which I have formerly had to doe with as their Minister; such are those of the Islands, where I was one of the first, and know which were the beginnings, and by which means and occasions the preaching of Gods word was planted there. But you hold now (to my tunking) a course quite contrary to that which we have held. All the favour we then obtained was through the *Bshops* means, and without them I daie confidently assure you, that you will obtain nothing of what you look for. In the beginning there was no other Reformation in the Islands then that common throughout the whole Kingdom of *England*. The *Priests* which a little before had sung *Mass*, became suddenly *Protestants*; but yet

T

not

not one of them was appointed to preach the word of God. They were but ignorant blockheads, continuing still in heart and affection Papists, and enemies to the Gospel. Now such as were sincerely affected to the Gospel, prevailed so far as that they obtained Ministers, with whom the Priests could not agree : they retained their Service, and the Ministers preached, and had the exercise of Religion asunder, following the order of the Churches of *France*. In those beginnings at the pursuit of Mr. *John After*, Dean, I was sent by my Lords of the Councell to the Islands, as well in regard of the School that was newly erected, as to be a Minister there.

At that time the Bishop of *Constance* was sent Ambassadour from the French King to Queen *Elizabeth*, from whom, and from her Councell he obtained, Letters to the Governors of the Islands, whereby they were enjoined to yeild unto him all authority and right, which he pretended did belong unto him, as being the true Bishop of the Islands. But how this blow as was warded let your Fathers tell you. Upon this occasion the Bishop of *Winchester* (as their true Bishop) took upon him the protection of the Churches of both Islands, representing to the *Queen*, and unto her Councel, that of old the Islands did belong to his Bishoprick, and that he had ancient Records for it ; yea an Excommunication from the *Pope* against the Bishop of *Constance*, whenever he would challenge any Episcopall Jurisdiction over the Islands. So through the means of the said Bishop, and Mr. *John After*, Dean, two places only were priviledged of my Lords of the Councell, *St. Peter-haven* for *Garnsey*, and *St. Helier* for *Farnsey*, with prohibition to innovate in ought in the other Parishes.

ishes. Then were the Court and Chapter of the Bishop held, which afterwards were suppressed, how, by whom, and by what authority, I know not: I fear the Authors have run themselves into *Premunires* (if *premunires* have power within the Islands) The Consistories, Classes and Synods of Ministers have succeeded them, yet without any Episcopall Jurisdiction. Now so it is, that your Islands want Episcopall Courts for proving of Wills, for Divorces, and Marriages, and for the Tythes which are causes, and Actions, Ecclesiasticall, and have so been these 600. years and upwards, as well under the Dukes of *Normandy*, as the Kings of *England*. The Reformation and change of Religion hath altered nothing; neither is there any one that hath power or authority to transferre the said causes to any other Judges then to the *Bishop*, but the *Kings* Majesty: so that your Civil Magistrates have nothing to doe with such causes; if they meddle with them 'tis usurpation. The *French* Ministers are so rash as to say, that the Bishops of *England* have usurpt this Jurisdiction, and that it belongeth not unto them, because it is Civil, making no difference between what some *Bishops* have heretofore usurpt, & what the *King* and Sovereign Magistrates have freely given (for certain reasons moving them thereunto) and conferred upon *Bishops*; therefore though the matter be civill, yet can they not be held for usurpers. Truly the present state and condition of the Kingdom of *England* doth bely such slanderers of our Bishops. I fear that your Magistrates being seasoned with this Doctrine, have carried themselves in this point more licentiously then the Laws of this Kingdom and of their Islands will warrant them. I pass o-

ver the debates that might be made upon this matter, as a thing impertinent in the place and government under which we live. I consider the state of *England*, and that of the Islands, and the dignity of Bishops, and the condition of the other Ministers of the Church, such as it is at this day. In *Scotland* for the time present the State hath otherwise provided, but not in *England*, and therefore ye ought not to take example by them, as though your State were like theirs. I hear that your Governor hath taken order about Wills, and appointed one to prove them. But I cannot conceive how that may be done without Episcopal Jurisdiction conferred by the Bishop. Your Governour I know hath power to present to the Bishop a man proper to execute this authority of the Bishop in his name. Likewise the Governor as Patron of the Churches and Parishes of his Government, upon the vacancy of any living, ought to present by such a time a man well qualified to succeed in the Office of a Pastour, but the admission and induction of such a charge, belongs to your Bishop, and to no body else. If I be well informed, you observe nothing of all this: which if it be so, you'll never be able to justify it. The example of the *French Churches*, and of the *Low-Countries* doe you no good. Your case is quite another: They have Laws from their Sovereigns, and particular places for themselves, but all that you doe is contrary to the Laws and Ordinance of the King your Sovereign. You hold Synodical meetings, wherein you make Statutes about the Government of the Church, unto which you bind your selves and the rest that are naturall Subjects to the King: wherein you (unsensibly derogue from his authority.

The

The Synods of the Arch-bishops and Bishops, together with the rest of the Clergy of this Realm dare not presume that which you doe, nor attribute to their Canons and Statutes what you attribute to yours. Yet the Assembly of Bishops and of their Clergie, is of men far otherwise qualified then some dozen of the Ministers of your Islands to judge and discern what belongs to the edification of the Church; their Decrees nevertheless are of no authority to tye unto them those of this Realm, till the *King*, yea in his own person, have approved them, and by Proclamation made them his: There is no body in his Realm, nor in any of his Dominions that hath power to enact Laws and Decrees but himself: The *Parliaments* authority is great, but without the Kings assent nothing takes the rigour of Law. I know very well, that at the perswasion of the Ministers, your Governours and others that were present to your Synods, have subscribed and acknowledged your Synodical Acts, they did it even in my time: but their power doth not stretch so far. That may bring a greater prejudice to themselves, then give force of Ecclesiasticall Law to your Decrees. I doe not think that his Majesty being well informed will grant unto your Ministers or Governours of your Islands such authority: They will be more pernicious to you then you think. You'll alledge me, I know, your Priviledges; but I dare boldly answer you, that you never had any such priviledges: I have read them, and have the copies of them; and they say, that in matters Civil you shall be governed by the ancient *Customier* of *Normandy*, and that you are not subject to the Statutes of the Parliament in such matters, nor to the Subsidies, other charges.

charges and impositions that are raised in *England*, except (which God forbid ever should come to pass) the King were detained Prisoner by the Enemy. In matters Ecclesiasticall you are freed from the Bishop of *Constance*, and under that of *Winchester*, yea even of old by the *Popes* authority and consent of the two Kings, from whom also in part, your neutrality in times of warre is approved, excommunicating all such as would molest you. Ye cannot shew concerning your priviledges, but only what is renewed as often as there is a new King. And for the Patent which you say you have procured from his Majesty for matters of Religion; *First*, it is in generall terms, and without any clause derogating from the authority of your *Bishops*. *Secondly*, if it be questioned, it may be told you, that it was surreptitious, and granted you before the King was well informed of the business. To conclude you must understand that in matters of Religion the Kings Majesty will doe nothing without the counsell and advice of the *Arch-bishop* and your Bishop of *Winchester*; wherefore you may doe well to insinuate your selves in their favour, and conform your selves to them, as we have done in the beginning. You may reduce the Decrees of the Church of *England*, and the use of the book of prayers to a good and Christian Discipline, farre more solid, and better grounded then that for which ye so earnestly bestirre your selves.

I must add one word more which will be hard of digestion. This is it, that you may be upbraided, that as many Ministers that are naturall of the Countrey, being not made Ministers of the Church by your Bishop, nor by his *Demissories*, nor by any other according to the order
of

of the *English* Church, you are not true and lawfull Ministers. Likewise that as many among you as have not taken institution and induction into your Parishes from the Bishop, nor from his Substitute lawfully ordained and authorised so to doe, ye are come in by intrusion and usurpation of cure of Souls, which no body could give you but your Bishop, that is, in terms and words Evangelicall, that you are not come into the *Sheep-fold by the door*, but by elsewhere, and that by the Ecclesiastical Laws you are excommunicants and Schismaticks. I know well enough you do not regard such Laws, and think that your Priviledges will exempt you from them, wherein you greatly deceive your selves. For a man may tell you, who are ye that would have your Ecclesiastical Decrees made by Private Authority, to have force of Laws, and dare scorn and reject those of the English Church, made by Publick Authority, by farre honeste men, greater Scholars (without comparison) more learned, and farre more in number then you are? The Kings Majesty by his Royall authority hath approved *them*, this Realm hath received *them*. But what are your Synodall Decrees? who be the Authors of them, and who be they that have approved them? 'Tis winkt at, and your ignorance is born with, but think not, that that which is born in you be any such thing as vertue. Your Priviledges do not stretch so far as that you may make Ecclesiasticall Decrees: Had it been so, the Priests had retained Mass and Poperie: In that you hold a contrary course to that of the English Church whereof you are and must be (if you be Englishmen) Members, it proceeds from nothing else but from the connivence and indulgence

gence of your Governors, who have given too much credit to the French Ministers, and partly in the beginning, to the stubbornness of the Papists of the Islands. When your Governors shall have a liking to the *English* Reformation, then will they make you leave the *French* Reformation : You sail against wind and tyde ; you think that the Governors you shall have hereafter will be like Sir *Tho. Layton*, you are deceived. Though this day you had compassed your wish, to morrow or the next day after, at your Governors pleasure, all shall be marred again.

Finally, the Ecclesiasticall Government which you aske, hath no ground at all upon Gods word. 'Tis altogether unknown to the Fathers, who in matter of Christian Discipline, and censure of manners, were more zealous and precise then we are. But you cannot, of all the learned and pious antiquity, shew one example of the Discipline or Ecclesiasticall order, which you hold, as your *Bishop* in his book of the *perpetuall government of the Sonne of Gods Church*, doth learnedly teach. I pass over what I have my self written concerning it in my book, *De diversis Ministrorum gradibus*, and in my Defence against the Answer of Mr. *Beza*, and more largely in my Confutation of his book *De triplici genere Episcoporum*. I cannot wonder enough at the *Scotchmen*, who could be perswaded to abolish and reject the state of Bishops, by reasons so ill grounded, partly false, partly of no moment at all, and altogether unworthy a man of such fame. If the Scots had not more sought after the temporal means of Bishops, then after true Reformation, never had Mr. *Beza's* Book perswaded them to do what they have

have done. And I assure you, that your opinion concerning the government of the Church, seems plausible unto great men, but for two reasons, the one is to prey upon the goods of the Church, the other for to keep it under, the Revenues and authority of Bishops being once taken away. For the form of your discipline is such, that it will never be approved of by a wise and discreet supreme Magistrate, who knows how to govern. Ye see not the faults you commit in your proceedings as well Consistoriall as Synodals, men well versed in the Lawes, and in government do observe them, But they contemn them so long as they have the law in their own hands, and that it is far easier for them to frustrate them, & regard neither Consistorie nor Synodes, then for you to command and make Decrees. Were your Discipline armed with power, as the Inquisition of *Spain* is, it would surpass it in tyranny. The Episcopall authority is Canonical, that is, so limited and enclosed within the bounds of the *Statutes* and *Canons* [of the Church] that it can command nothing without Law, much less contrary to Law. And the Bishop is but the Keeper of the Lawes, to cause them to be observed, and to punish the transgressors of your Consistories and Synodes. For the present I will say no more, only take notice of this, that it is not likely the King who knows what Consistories and Synodes be, will grant that to the Islands which doth displease him in *Scotland*. This, Gentlemen and Brethren, have I thought good to write vnto you, intreating you to take it well, as comming from him that loves the Islands, and the good and edification of the Church of Christ, as much as you can doe.

The Subscription of

Upon this occasion I have thought fit to add thus much concerning Dr. Hadrianus Saravia.

HIS learning is sufficiently known by his works, his judgement in relation to the Liturgy and Discipline of the Church of England is declared by this Letter, which doth further appear by his Subscriptions following.

1. In Queen Elizabeth's time the form required was in these words, *We whose names are here underwritten, do Declare and unfainedly Testify our assent to all and singular the Articles of Religion, and the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments comprized in a book imprinted, intituled Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the Arch-bishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God 1562, according to the computation of the Church of England, for the avoiding of the diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of Consent touching true Religion, put forth by the Queen's Authority. And in testimony of such our Assents we have hereunto subscribed our names, with our own proper hands, as hereafter followeth.*

Unto this Doctor Hadrianus de Saravia (the sixth Prebend of the Church of Canterbury being conferred upon him) subscribes in these words: *Per me Hadrianum de Saravia Sacra Theologia Professore, cui sexta Prebenda in Ecclesia Cathedrali Christi Cantuariensis conferenda est sexto Decembris 1595.*

Wherein I find he did immediately succeed Doctor Whitaker, whose Subscription is in these words, *viz. Per me Gulielmum Whitaker sacra Theologia Doctorem ejusdem*

eiusdemque Professore Regium in Academia Cantabrigiensi, cui sexta Prabenda in Ecclesia Cathedrali Christi Cantuariensi, conferenda est, Decimo Maii 1595.

According unto which I find Mr. *John Dod* of *Hanwell* in *Oxfordshire* (who wrote upon the *Commandments*) to have subscribed in these words: *Per me Johannem Dod, in Artibus Magistrum presentatum ad Ecclesiam de Hanwell Oxon. Diocesi, 28. Julii 1585.* unto whom abundance more (and about that time) might be added Mr. *Richard Rogers*, Doctor *Reynolds* of *Oxford*, &c. among whom it pleased me to find the hand of the Reverend and Learned Mr. *Hooker* thus subscribing: *Per me Richardum Hooker Clericum in Artibus Magistrum presentatum ad Canonatum et Prabendam de Neather-haven in Ecclesia Cathedrali Sarum, 17. Julii 1591.*

2. In *King James's* time, and since, the form of the Subscription was thus, To the three Articles mentioned in the 36. Chapter of the Book of Canons.

First, that the Kings Majesty under God is the only
supreme Governor of this Realm, and of all other his
Highness Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spirituall or Ecclesiasticall things or Causes as Temporall, and
that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate
hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority,
Preheminence or Authority Ecclesiasticall or Spirituall
within his Majesties said Realms, Dominions and Territories.

That the Book of Common Prayer and of Ordering of
Bishops, Priests and Deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God, and that it may lawfully so be
used, and that he himself will use the form in the said book
prescribed

Subscriptions of Mr. Dod,

prescribed in publick prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, and none other.

3. That he alloweth the book of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the Arch-bishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the Clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord, One thousand five hundred sixty and two. And that he acknowledgeth all and every the Articles therein contained, being in number nine and thirty besides the Ratification to be agreeable to the word of God.

To these three Articles, Doctor *Hadrianus de Saravia* being instituted unto the Rectory of *Great Chart* in the Diocess of *Canterbury* anno 1609. subscribes in these words. *Ego Hadrianus de Saravia Sacra Theologia Professor, cui Ecclesia Parochialis de Charta magna Cantuar. Diocesi, conferenda est, his tribus Articulis supra scriptis, & omnibus & singulis in iisdem contentis, libens & ex animo subscribo, vicesimo quinto die Mensis Februarii, Anno Dom. juxta computationem Ecclesie Anglicanae, 1609.*
Hadr. de Saravia.

According unto which in succeeding years I find very many of our reverend Divines; famous in their times for *Learning* and *Piety* have subscribed also, which would be needless here to mention, in regard their judgments are sufficiently known that way: Only there are some other *learned* men, and of a pious estimation (whom the vulgar possibly have misapprehended) I have thought fit to doe them that right, as to vindicate them in it, having found them there as fully and heartily subscribing also: Each of which being various in some expressions I have put them down distinctly.

Mr.

Mr. Bifeild, Mr. Dike, and others.

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Mr. Nicholas Bifeild (whose many pious works hath made him famous) subscribes in these words: *Mart. ult. 1615. Ego Nicholaus Bifeild verbi divini Prædicator, admittendus & instituendus ad vicariam de Illeworth in Comitatu Middlesex, hisce tribus Articulis & omnibus in iisdem contentis, libenter & ex animo subscribo.*

Mr. Jeremiah Dike of Epping in Essex, (an able and constant Preacher, and of great esteem in his time) subscribes thus: *Mart. 21. anno 1609. Ego Jeremiah Dike in Artibus Magister legitime præsentatus ad Vicariam de Epping in Essex, his tribus Articulis supra Scriptis, & omnibus in iisdem contentis, libens, & ex animo subscribo.* Which two I find subscribing accordingly twice.

Mr. Daniel Caudery.

April. 25. 1616. Ego Daniel Caudery in artibus Magister admissus ad docendam Grammaticam in Ecclesia Parochia de Berkin in Comitatu Essexiæ, his tribus articulis, & omnibus in iisdem contentis, libenter & ex animo, non coactus, subscribo.

Mr. William Fenkyn.

Jan. 2. 1640. Ego Gulielmus Fenkyn Clericus in Artibus Magister, jam admittendus, & instituendus, ad & in Rectoriam sancti Leonardi in vico Colcestriæ in Comitatu Essexiæ, hisce tribus articulis præscriptis, antea a me lectis, & omnibus in iisdem contentis, libenter & ex animo, subscribo.

Guil. Jenkyn.

Mr. Calamy.

Novemb. 9. 1637. Ego Edm. Calamy sacre Theologia

*gia Bacch. jam admittendus & instituendus, ad & in Re-
ctoriam de Rochford in Comitatu Suffex, hisce tribus ar-
ticulis praescriptis antea a me lectis, & omnibus in isdem
contentis, libenter & ex animo, subscribo.*

Edm. Calamy.

And what is here *subscribed* as to the book of *Common-prayer*, was heretofore (to my own knowledge) as diligently *attended* by persons of the like eminency being so farre from absenting themselves, that they were carefull to come to the beginning of it. And it is also as fully defended by Mr. *Hildersham* in his 26. Lecture upon *cap. 14. of St. John* (a man of as much learning and piety as any before mentioned) to be *ac-
cording to Gods institution, Ordinance and Command-
ment*; which in another Treatise I have more largely declared (with the testimonies of divers others,) And in his 27. and 29. Lect. exhorts unto *kneeling* at it, and being *bareheaded* even at the *reading of the Psalms and Chapters*, as of the rest of Divine Service; defends the custome of our Church therein, as well *becomming every one of Gods people to conform themselves unto it.*

In the view of the *Registry* of Subscriptions of later years, I find that till the year 1641. all subscribed as above said, and continued it, to the *Articles of Religion*, though with several expressions and provisoes,

*In an. 1643. thus, Tertio Articulo praescripto, &c. or
thus, Articulis Religionis praescriptis juxta formam
statuti in eodem Casu editi, & provisum, i. e. To the
Articles of Religion before written; according to the
form of a Statute (or Ordinance) in that case provided
and published.*

In

In 1644. the form was thus, *Articulis Religionis Ecclesie Anglicanae juxta formam Statuti in ea parte editi, &c.* quatenus non repugnant foederi Nationali, *&c.* i. e. To the Articles of Religion of the Church of England, &c. as far as they are not repugnant to the National Covenant, &c. And about 1646. thus: *Salvo foedere Nationali,*

Then about Octob. 1648. that clause was left out (there being it seems in the *Covenant* somewhat contradicting that horrid Act intended unto the late *King of blessed Memory*) and the form was then only *Articulis Religionis Ecclesie Anglicanae*, and so continued till this late happy change of Government, when the subscriptions returned to the first form.

A POSTSCRIPT.

One thing more in relation to the *Lord Primate Usher*, There hath been a Pamphlet of late revived which had been printed before in his name, intituled *The Bishop of Armagh's Direction to the Parliament concerning the Liturgy and Episcopal Government, &c.* against which, as himself had declared in his *life time*, so have I since his *death*, to be a false fictitious Paper; yet notwithstanding it is reprinted, and sold up and down as his, and accordingly produced at this day, by many upon all occasions to his great injury.

For the further clearing of which let the *Reader* take notice that in *Anno*, 1640. when it came first out, the *Primate* petitioned the House of *Commons* for the suppressing of it; upon which this *Order* was conceived as followeth.

An

There was one
called *Vox Hy-*
bernicæ, pub-
lished in his
name, for the
suppressing of
which he had
an Order from
the House of
Peers.

An ORDER of the Commons-House of *Parliament*,
for the suppressing of *another Pamphlet* falsely fa-
thered upon the said Arch-bishop of *Armagh*, Die
Martis 9. Feb. 1640.

W *Hereas complaint hath been made unto us by*
James Lord Archbishop of *Armagh*, and Pri-
of all Ireland, *that a certain Pamphlet hath been lately*
most injuriously fathered upon him, and spread under the
false title of the Bishop of Armagh's Direction to the
House of Parliament concerning the Liturgy and Epif-
copall Government. It is this day Ordered in the Com-
mons House of Parliament, that the Master and Compa-
ny of Stationers, and all others whom it may concern, shall
take such course for the suppressing of the said Book, that
they shall not suffer it to be put in Print; or if it be alrea-
dy Printed, not permit the same to be divulged; and if
any man shall presume to print or publish the Book above
mentioned, that he or they shall be then lyable to the Cen-
sure of the said House.

H. ELSYNG Cler. Dom. Com.

FINIS.

